

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE,
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THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

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THE POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE REFORMATION

THE main political issue of The Reformation was the emphasis on Nationalism and the consequent break-up of what was still regarded as the unity of Europe. The formation of the Nation and the development of its self-consciousness of sovereignty, were necessary, probably, in the long evolution of history. Nevertheless in many respects this emphasis was most deplorable. Imperialism to-day is out of favour. The word, along with Capitalism, is looked upon as having a bad savour. For all that we think any student of history must look back upon the Imperialism of old Rome not only with admiration but to some extent with regret. For five hundred years and more—a period the length of which would take us back to-day to Agincourt—the greater part of Europe, a great deal of Northern Africa, Asia Minor, and some parts of Mesopotamia, were a unity. In St. Paul's day there were no custom-houses: let the tourist think of it when plagued every time he goes abroad, and even more so every time he returns! There was then no language difficulty, for Greek was a *lingua franca*, and for that matter you could fall back upon official Latin where necessary. In every part of Europe a Roman citizen had his rights, and not only Roman citizens but Jews also. They could dwell safely even on the Rhine, no Hitler daring to make them afraid. For the most part, even Christians were protected, provided they were not too aggressively assertive against their neighbours, and provided also they registered with the police as a society, the conditions of such registration being that they were not to make a collection more than once a month, and were not to discuss politics. It may be noted in passing that the Christians first registered themselves as a

burial society, and some Christians have been under the delusion that that was their function ever since. In fact it was a world in which St. Paul could go from end to end without passports: from the Roman Wall of Northumbria down to the Persian Gulf; from where Atlas flings his shadow far over the Western foam to where the Rhine loses itself in the flats of Holland. A world with everywhere an open sesame—'civis Romanus sum.'

Nor must we overlook the small military machine with which this great empire was kept in order and defended against attack. Even in Diocletian's days, when dangers were multiplying, the army was not above six hundred thousand strong.

However, the Roman Empire passed away in a welter of barbarians and for the next four hundred years we have the agonized efforts of thinkers and politicians to discover a successor to the lost *pax Romana*. We see St. Augustine in despair falling back upon the City of God. And then you come to that memorable Christmas day of the year 800 when, at the close of Mass in St. Peter's, Charles the Great was solemnly invested by the pope with the secular headship of a newly-founded Holy Roman Empire, the old Roman Empire in a new form but with two heads, one spiritual and one secular, instead of one omnipotent Caesar. For the next six hundred years history is a record of attempts to make this great ideal work, with the balance now inclining to the secular head when he was strong, and now to the spiritual head when, as with Hildebrand and Innocent III, the pope was strong. The Holy Roman Empire was destroyed, however, by the general weakness of the secular heads and the overbearing of the spiritual.

At the end of six hundred years we come across an effort which is of very considerable interest to us to-day: the attempt under the lead of D'Ailli, Gerson, and the English bishop Hallum, to establish within the framework of the unity of the Empire a governing Council representative of

all interests both secular and sacred. In Constance in 1415 you have the first outline of a League of Nations; and while it is true its main incidence lay in its efforts, resulting in success, to re-establish a unity in which the papacy predominated, there is no doubt that it was intended, at any rate by D'Ailli and Gerson, to be effective also in secular things. But Constance came to nought, partly shattered by the struggle between England and France, partly deliberately pushed on one side by the resuscitated papacy, to whom the conciliar theory was anathema. One hundred years later you get the great crash—on its spiritual side called The Reformation. But it is important for us to note that The Reformation was not only the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire (theoretically, of course, it lingered on a dishonoured ghost for three hundred years until given its death blow by Napoleon). The Reformation was even saved by the clash between Emperor and Pope, and by the fact that the rival nations looked different ways: Charles V and the Pope at loggerheads that resulted in the sack of Rome; France with one eye on its own interests through the papal struggles with Charles V. The result was not merely the salvation of The Reformation but the disappearance of any hitherto imagined unity of Europe. With the concurrence of the German Protestants The Reformation became purely political summed up in the phrase '*cujus regio ejus religio*'—the politics of the chief determine the religion. Europe was split into warring camps; even Switzerland, as the field of Kapell with its death of Zwingli shows, was divided, not so much by race as by religion into opposing foes. And the same thing was true of France.

We need not traverse the three hundred years that followed The Reformation, with its ghastly national struggles exemplified above all in the Thirty Years' War, in the struggle in France between Huguenots and the French kings, the struggle of Philip II to stamp out in blood the spiritual revolt of the Netherlands. Such unity as Germany still possessed

was completely lost by the end of the eighteenth century when there were in it hundreds of warring princelets each supreme in his own district with but scanty allegiance to an imperial overlordship long since annexed by Austria. Even the Free Cities, for the most part Protestant, were generally surrounded with Catholic territory.

To-day we are seeking to recover the lost unity of Europe in a League of Nations. Unfortunately the unity we are seeking to discover is purely on the secular side and no longer with a spiritual correspondence. Unfortunately also, the New World which had only just been discovered when The Reformation dawned, lies outside it and seems to have little practical interest in the advancement of those great forces which make for peace. We have called in the New World to redress the balance of the old, but it has 'redressed' it by ignoring it. America, with a population made up from many nations, of course has no sense of continuity in its history with the past; but we, whose foundations are buried deep in an historic past and who live in a world from which the hope of unity has never absolutely vanished, must look to the League of Nations not to destroy the sense of nationalism but to develop a further stage by correcting the over-emphasis of the doctrine of national sovereignty brought out by The Reformation. But such international law cannot exist without the adhesion of America, and of this adhesion there is at present no sign. In fact the recent refusal of the Senate to ratify the proposed membership of the World Court was a striking example of the intensity of popular feeling, for the rejection of the proposal was due to appeals made in the Press and over the radio to the passions, fears and prejudices of the public.

The Reformation was one stage in the evolution from the Old Roman Empire to the present day. It emphasized and completed the discovery of the nation with all the subsequent wars and struggles—partly religious, partly commercial—which followed the emphasis. Now we have come to the point

where every sovereign nation must to some extent resign its sovereignty and find in the unity of the world a larger will than its own. No man liveth to himself: equally true, no nation—not even America—can accomplish the same impossibility.

May we add, as part of our rapid survey, that it is not surprising that no effort was made to develop international law until Grotius. There was no need for international law when Europe was still supposed to be a unity in the Holy Roman Empire with the old code of Justinian as the recognized basis, in every country except England, of all law; and all countries, England included, living under one Roman Canon Law. International law to-day should rather be called international comity, at any rate it can only be called law when there is some supreme court—whether at The Hague or Geneva or elsewhere—that would apply sanctions to the law-breaker.

To sum up. It is evident to any observer that for the third time in the history of Europe we are passing through a great change. The Roman Empire, the main stress of which was the solidarity of the whole, gave place in new form to the Holy Roman Empire with the same stress upon solidarity—at any rate in theory though ineffective in practice. The Reformation came with its emphasis upon the nation. It set the world spinning in a wrong direction, along the line of development of individual national sovereignty, instead of seeking to discover a spiritual unity. Unfortunately also, the new unity was purely secular, for we may pass by as of little permanent value not even in Geneva, Scotland, or New England, Calvin's attempt to find it in theocracy.

To-day, partly as a result of the Great War and partly through other causes, we are beginning slowly to discover that there must be a higher synthesis than the nation and that individual national sovereignty must give place to a conception of the sovereignty of the whole. And from the concept of individual national sovereignty the world has suffered and is suffering, America not least of all. It was this concept

which lay at the basis of the American Civil War, and which is the great difficulty in the way of President Roosevelt to-day, for the concept still dominates, as certain recent decisions have shown, the Supreme Court. It is also the great hindrance to any consciousness by America of its duty to a higher unity than itself. Moreover, the League of Nations, which at present consists of fifty independent sovereign States, has shown in Abyssinia that along these lines inevitable weakness must exist. In other words, we must get back in a new form to the old conception of a unity and law higher than the nation.

We conclude by pointing out that The Reformation was also the emphasis on individualism, that sturdy individualism which lay at the basis of all our acts and thought until the close of the nineteenth century. But to-day individualism is discredited, and Manchestertum (as the German economists call it) is looked upon by others than Karl Marx as the slogan of an effete creed. In place of laissez-faire and individualism, great as were the merits of this last in the development of a sturdy manhood, the eyes of all are turned to a new world with unions of all sorts and larger social service as the recognized aim. It is true that the world seems passing through an individualistic stage in commerce, but this can only be a temporary phase unless trade is to cut its own throat. Not, it is true, that the world is ever likely to go back to what was called Free Trade—for that is as individualistic in outlook as the age which gave it birth—but some larger economic co-operation which shall benefit all, seems to be the goal towards which world affairs are tending. If the two things can be brought about—the modification of the concept of supreme State sovereignty by the concept of a higher State than any, and this concept of economic solidarity—then the peace of the world will be assured.

H. B. WORKMAN.

JOHN WESLEY AND GEORGE HERBERT

THE twelfth edition of George Herbert's *Temple* appeared in the year that John Wesley was born. The thirteenth followed six years later, and then not another till 1799, after which there was a constant supply of new editions throughout the nineteenth century. No single person did more to fill that gap of ninety years than John Wesley: he did more than any man to keep alive the knowledge of Herbert's poems. He quotes him familiarly in letters from his twenty-fourth to his eightieth year; he reads aloud to his disciples the *Temple* poems and *The Country Parson*; he prints in his seventieth year the only considerable body of Herbert's poems reprinted between 1709 and 1799, and he adapts or re-writes for his various volumes of *Collections* no less than forty-seven of the poems. He includes Walton's *Life of Herbert* in his popular series, *A Christian Library* (1753). When we note further that most of Wesley's *Collections* passed through many editions, it will be recognized that the name of Herbert and his poems, though, it must be confessed, they suffered by alteration, became known through Wesley to a very wide circle of ordinary people in the eighteenth century.

It is now generally recognized that religious poetry in England has never reached such distinction as in the first half of the seventeenth century, but the vogue of the writers was short-lived. Henry Vaughan's volumes were neglected even in his lifetime, and were not reprinted till the nineteenth century; Crashaw's poems were not reprinted from 1670 till 1785 when Peregrine Phillips produced a selection; but *The Temple* had been a popular book. For two full generations after Herbert's death there had been editions of *The Temple* at the rate of one in every five years. His poems were frequently quoted and commended throughout that time, and among their warmest admirers were many of

a different churchmanship from Herbert's—Baxter, Peter Sterry and Archbishop Leighton. This popularity was not maintained in the eighteenth century with its high regard for 'correctness' and its shyness of emotion. Even Cowper, the only man of letters in that century with a fervid admiration of Herbert's poems, must apologize for their being 'gothic and uncouth.' John Wesley also could hardly have failed to share something of this critical attitude to the manner of Herbert's verse, so alien to the fashion of the new age, and when he set to work to rewrite Herbert's poems he drastically purged them of the 'conceits' and colloquial turns of speech which offended the taste of the day. He almost succeeded in giving them an eighteenth-century dress.

Herbert was the favourite poet of Wesley's mother, and the influence of that remarkable woman was exercised not least upon John, the most original and independent of her sons. Among the few books which John can have taken with him to Georgia were *The Temple* and *The Country Parson*, besides Jeremy Taylor, Ken, à Kempis and Austin's *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices* in the 'reformed' edition, which were Mrs. Wesley's chosen reading. The full extent of Wesley's devotion to Herbert could not be realized from the older literature. Wesley's *Journal* includes only one reference to Herbert, which occurs in a letter written to his father from Oxford on December 10, 1734. In that letter, entered in the *Journal*, under the date of March 28, 1739, Wesley resists his father's wish that he should give himself to parochial work at present, and pleads that his 'retirement' at Oxford gives him a leisure favourable to the growth of personal holiness; he will not suffer interruption from idle talkers but will follow 'that wise advice of Mr. Herbert':

Still let thy mind be bent; still plotting how
And when, and where, the business may be done.

He is apparently quoting from memory, as Herbert wrote 'Let thy minde still be bent.' Tyerman, in his valuable

Life of Wesley, has nothing to say about Wesley's assiduity in compiling and editing hymns in his Georgian days, and overlooks the first collection (1737), in which Wesley's first adaptations of Herbert appear. Important new evidence is now available in Mr. Curnock's monumental edition of the *Journal*, with its considerable extracts from the early *Diaries*, and in Mr. Telford's full edition of Wesley's *Letters*. We are now, for the first time, in a position to assess fully the nature and extent of John Wesley's attraction to George Herbert. Wesley was at all times of his life a devoted reader of poetry and began to write verse himself long before his brother Charles discovered his own gift. Indeed, Mrs. Wesley thought it well to advise John in his later Oxford days: 'Make poetry your diversion, not your business.' But the love of Herbert they shared, and when he quotes a line of 'Justice' in a letter to her, written just after taking his Master's degree, he does not need to name the author. The *Letters*, now published, show that he continued throughout life to quote Herbert. At the age of twenty-seven, writing to Mrs. Granville on December 12, 1730, and recommending the habit of ejaculatory prayer, he quotes from 'Prayer':

If I but lift my eyes, my suit is made;
Thou canst no more not hear than Thou canst die.

Nine years later, in a long controversial letter to Thomas Church, Vicar of Battersea, dated from Bristol on February 2, 1743, he declares that the Bible is his sole rule of faith and quotes from his own altered version of 'Discipline':

Not even a word or look
Do I approve or own,
But by the model of Thy Book,
Thy sacred Book alone.

Writing to Mrs. Madan on November 9, 1750, and advising her to redeem all the time she can from fashionable folly, he quotes from 'The Church Porch' inaccurately, although he prefaces the citation with the words, 'Herbert well observes.'

The Monthly Review for August, 1756, in reviewing a pretentious and now forgotten volume entitled, *Poems sacred to Religion and Virtue*, by Dr. Thomas Drummond, included the remark:

'How far the Doctor has done this, in the present work, better than his predecessors, Herbert and Norris, or his contemporaries, the gentlemen who write hymns and spiritual songs for the Methodists and Moravians, the reader will presently be enabled to judge.'

The reviewer proceeded to pillory examples of the Doctor's defective ear, and with mock seriousness congratulated him on his use of the anti-climax. It is strange that Wesley should have thought the review worth his notice, but probably he resented the tone of the reference to the Methodist 'gentlemen,' and perhaps also the coupling at this late date of the Moravians with the Methodists. He wrote a letter on September 9, 'To the Monthly Reviewers,' which included this protest:

'Why do you condemn Methodists in the lump? . . . Is it common justice to treat with such contempt as you have done in the last month's *Review* those who are by no means contemptible writers? Be persuaded, Gentlemen, to give yourselves the pains of reading either Mr. Herbert's *Providence* or the verses which Norris entitles *The Meditation*; and you will find them scarce inferior either in sense or language to most compositions of the present age.'

Wesley's letter did not appear in the *Review*, but he received an answer, as he returns on October 5 to his chivalrous, if really unprovoked, defence of Herbert and Norris.

In his eightieth year Wesley is found quoting to two correspondents lines from his own version of 'The Temper,' and by this time he is so accustomed to the Wesley-Herbert rendering that he introduces it with the words: 'It is a beautiful saying of Mr. Herbert's.'

The early *Diaries*, edited by Mr. Curnock, are of first-rate importance in proving beyond a doubt that it is John, and not Charles, who took the initiative in introducing

a wider use of hymns in English congregational worship, and that it was he alone who was responsible for the adaptations of Herbert's poems for that purpose. When the two brothers embarked on the *Simmonds* at Gravesend on October 14, 1735, for Georgia, they were to spend nearly four months in daily association with a party of some twenty-five Moravians, led by David Nitschmann, who had become a bishop in the previous March. On the third day after embarking John Wesley, with characteristic energy, had begun the study of German, and nine days later the *Diary* records 'began Gesang-Buch.' This, as Mr. Curnock rightly says (*Journal*, vol. II, p. 6 note), must be *Das Gesang-Buch der Gemeinde in Herrnhut*, first printed in that very year. Before long he was to translate also from Freylinghausen's *Geistreiches Gesang-Buch*. It was, indeed, as Mr. Curnock observes, a momentous day in the history of English hymnody. Wesley, with the musical aptitude which was so marked in his family, would have admired the grave German tunes as well as the fervent hymns, and on the voyage he had plentiful opportunities of hearing the Moravians sing. The occasion of a storm at sea gave Wesley a proof of the fortitude which the Moravians derived from their singing of psalms and hymns. After the arrival in Georgia he continued to see much of them, and sometimes in the *Diary* he mentions their singing. Nine weeks after arriving he is already designing to form the more serious-minded of his flock 'into a sort of little society,' and on June 10 following is an entry in the *Journal*:

'We began to execute at Frederica what we had before agreed to do at Savannah. Our design was, on Sundays in the afternoon, and every evening after public service, to spend some time with the most serious of the communicants, in singing, reading and conversation.'

The project was soon after modified, as the week-day meetings were arranged for Wednesdays and Fridays only, to which Saturday night was later added. The *Diary* becomes full of entries about transcribing, altering, and writing hymns

for this and kindred purposes. A typical entry in the *Diary*, marking the employment of each hour, is: '8 walked, verse, sung. 9 made verse, sung. 10 verse, sung. 11 verse, writ them. 4 transcribed, sung.' For many months to come this will be a principal occupation of most days, and after the emotional disturbance arising out of Sophy Hopkey's sudden marriage the business of hymn-writing was, Mr. Curnock suggests, 'his salvation from despair.' At first, from May, 1736, he is translating German hymns. Then, throughout July and August, he is adapting poems of Herbert: sometimes the entry is 'singing George Herbert,' sometimes he reads his versions to his friends. He was building up a manuscript collection of psalms and hymns; he draws freely from Watts, as he may have already done for the Holy Club in Oxford, and also from Austin's *Devotions* and Ken. He will often translate while on journeys on foot or by boat, and on returning home he will write and sing what he has arranged. Every hymn was thus fully tested before it was used in public.

The first use of the collection was for the meetings of the 'society,' or 'company,' but soon we hear of singing at early morning meetings and by the sick-bed, and, apparently, in church after services. It was but a step further to introduce hymn-singing into the church services, and especially, as the *Diary* notes, at 'the Eucharistic feast.' When trouble brewed in August of the following year one of the charges in the draft List of Grievances to be presented by the Grand Jury of Savannah, though this particular charge was ultimately withdrawn, was that of 'introducing into the church and service at the Altar compositions of psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature.' The Book of Common Prayer did, indeed, make no provision for hymn-singing. It expressly sanctioned the singing of liturgical words—the Creed, Sanctus and Gloria in Excelsis in the Communion Office, and in the daily offices the canticles and 'in Quires and Places where they sing . . . the Anthem.'

The words of anthems were almost always from Scripture or the liturgy, though Walton mentions that Dr. Donne caused his 'Hymne to God the Father' 'to be set to a most grave and solemn tune and to be often sung to the *Organ* by the *Choristers* of St. *Paul's* Church, in his own hearing, especially at the Evening Service.' Several Anglicans wrote admirable hymns in the seventeenth century, but it is doubtful if they were for singing in church. Wesley was therefore consciously innovating, when we find in the *Diary* for Sunday, June 19, 1737, that they sang in afternoon service from a hymn-book and ended with Tate and Brady. The latter, being the New Version of the metrical psalms, was authorized for use in church, and was commonly bound at the end of the Prayer Book. But any one who had become acquainted with the Moravian hymns would be ill content with Tate and Brady, which was hardly an improvement on the Old Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, of whom Fuller had said: 'Their piety was better than their poetry, they had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon.' If Wesley was, then, to get full value out of church hymn-singing, he must form his own collection. '*A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. Printed by Lewis Timothy. Charles-town, 1737' is not only the first significant publication of Wesley, but it is also probably the first hymn-book for the use of the Church of England. No editor's name is given, but it is unquestionably the work of John Wesley, his brother having left the country, after only five months' stay, before John had got far with the preparation of the book. The collection was arranged in three parts, forty hymns for Sunday, twenty for Wednesday or Friday, and ten for Saturday, according to the plan mentioned above. About one-third of the hymns were Dr. Watts's, sometimes skilfully altered by Wesley. He included a poem by his father and hymns of Austin, Addison and others. There were also his own translations of German hymns and adaptations of six of *The Temple* poems. Probably by inadvertence one poem, to which Wesley

gives the name, 'A Sinner's Prayer,' consists of two verses fashioned from Herbert's 'Complaining' and two verses from 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit.' When he reprinted them in 1739 the two poems were separated out correctly. The nature of Wesley's alterations of the Herbert poems will be discussed later.

The *Diary* shows Wesley still engaged almost daily with hymns after the Charlestown volume is printed and in use: evidently he had another publication in view, and within a few weeks of landing at Deal on February 1, 1738, he was completing for the press a second *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, which was printed this year in London, without the name of editor, authors, printer or publisher. The volume was never reprinted, and there appear to be only two copies now extant, one at Didsbury College and the other at Lambeth Palace. The book includes six more adaptations of Herbert. One of them, to which Wesley gives the title, 'A Sinner's Sighs,' was not identified by Osborn (*Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, vol. II, p. 41): it is a free re-writing of Herbert's 'Sighs and Groans.'

A far more important collection, which was many times reprinted in quick succession, is '*Hymns and Sacred Poems*. Published by John and Charles Wesley. London, 1739.' It contained the first printed hymns of Charles Wesley, which alone would make it notable. To this collection John Wesley contributed no less than forty-two poems 'altered from Herbert': they included the six which had been in the 1737 volume, and four of the six in the 1738 volume. From the fourth reduced edition onwards about half the Herbert items were omitted. A fresh collection with the same title, appearing in 1740, included Herbert's 'Business,' not previously printed; Wesley's version is interesting for the line, 'Laid His every glory by,' which anticipates his brother Charles's line in the famous Christmas hymn. A *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (1741) included Herbert's 'Submission,' which had found a place in 1738 but was not reprinted in 1739.

In 1744 John Wesley alone was responsible for a considerable work, which differs in scope and purpose from anything he had yet undertaken. It is entitled *A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems. From the most celebrated English Authors*. It was in three volumes and was dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon. The selection illustrates the width and quality of Wesley's reading. He states in the preface that he has omitted Spenser because he was by now unintelligible. There are large extracts from Milton, Cowley, Norris, Congreve, Dryden, Addison, Prior, Pope, Parnell, Young and other well-known writers, and in the third volume there are original verses by his brother and perhaps by himself. Among the original poems is one called 'Advice to One who was about to Write, To avoid the Immoralities of the Antient and Modern Poets,' which ends with this counsel of postponing a literary to a moral criterion:

What tho' with Ease you could aspire
To *Virgil's* Art or *Homer's* fire;
If Vice and Lewdness breaths the Lyre,
If Virtue it asperses;
Better with honest *Quarles* compose
Emblem, that good Intention shows,
Better be *Bunyan* in his Prose,
Or *Sternhold* in his Verses.

As the collection has a literary purpose, unlike the hymn-books which Wesley had hitherto prepared, he can for the first time restrain himself from making alterations in the text. He includes 'The Church Porch,' and 'Providence,' as Herbert wrote them, save for the omission of some stanzas. There is, however, one editorial note, too odd to pass over: he makes his protest against Herbert's stirring sentence,

if souldier,
Chase brave employments with a naked sword
Throughout the world

by including in the 'Errata': 'for *brave* read *base*.' He also rewrites Herbert's 'Life' and 'The Rose,' and to each of them he surprisingly gives the title *Anacreontick*.

A last tribute to Herbert was paid by John Wesley in his seventieth year when he printed without editor's name *Select Parts of Mr. Herbert's Sacred Poems* (1773). Here again, as in 1744, the poems are given as they were written, except that the text is taken from a late edition. 'The Church Porch' is represented by forty-seven of its seventy-seven stanzas, four more than in the volume of 1744. There are also twenty-two more of *The Temple* poems. The selection includes some of the best—'Vertue,' 'The Pulley,' 'Redemption,' 'The Pearl' and 'Peace,' but it is a little surprising that 'Sunday,' 'Easter,' 'The Flower' and the exquisite and tender 'Love,' with which *The Temple* ended, are not chosen.

It remains to consider the nature of Wesley's adaptations of Herbert and his purposes. His first purpose is evident from the beginning in Georgia: he wanted the poems to serve as hymns, not indeed for use in the church services only but as well in the more intimate gatherings of the little societies or companies which he formed. For either purpose the poems would not serve in their original form. Their intricate metres would not fit the available tunes, the frequent obscurities would baffle the simple, and the half-playful sallies and the seventeenth-century 'conceits' would need pruning. There was a further and more fundamental objection to the use of Herbert's poems as hymns that they were never intended by their writer for congregational use. They are lyrics of personal self-expression, far removed from the direct and impersonal hymns such as Dr. Watts wrote for public use. That Herbert's lyrics are commonly subjective deterred Wesley less than perhaps it should have done, since the hymns of Charles Wesley developed a new type in the hymn of experience which differed profoundly from the prevailing hymn of praise. As Mr. Parry says, in the recent volume by members of Mansfield College called *Christian Worship*, Watts's hymns 'never lost the objective note,' while the Evangelical hymns aimed sometimes rather at

the conversion of the sinner than at the praise of God. It is significant that Wesley chose few of *The Temple* poems which have something more of the nature of the hymn of praise, like 'Antiphon,' and drew far more from the intimate heart-searching poems, like 'Complaining,' 'Home' and 'Frailty.'

The first requirement was to adapt the lyrics to suit the existing tunes. The metrical psalms were almost all composed within a narrow range of metrical schemes, known as Common Measure (8 6. 8 6), Short Measure (6 6. 8 6), and Long Measure (8 8. 8 8), all of them iambic. There were many familiar psalm-tunes for all these measures and for their 'Doubles.' Out of all the forty-seven *Temple* poems which Wesley re-handled, only two—'The Elixir' and 'Submission'—were in any of these common measures, and these two therefore required and received less alteration than the rest. Herbert delighted in metrical experiment: it is sufficient to point out that in the forty-seven only three repeat a measure already used; the varieties are often very slight, yet they are enough to make it a difficult matter to find tunes for them. It is true that Herbert would himself sing some of his poems to the accompaniment of the lute or the viol, and that the poems still attract modern composers like Dr. Vaughan Williams and Sir Walford Davies, but they employ them in the free form of the anthem or song, not the congregational hymn. Herbert often used with poignant effect the short line which was ill replaced by a conventional longer line with the almost inevitable padding. A few examples will show what loss there is in the disappearance of the pathetic short lines and in the metrical filling out by words like 'O,' 'e'en' and 'still.'

Here is the opening stanza of Herbert's 'Longing':

With sick and famisht eyes,
With doubling knees and weary bones,
To thee my cries,
To thee my grones,
To thee my sighs, my tears ascend:
No end?

And this is Wesley's rewriting of it in Long Measure:

With bending Knees, and aking Eyes,
Weary and faint, to Thee my Cries,
To Thee my Tears, my Groans I send:
O when shall my Complaining end?

'Mans Medley' begins:

Heark how the birds do sing,
And woods do ring.

Wesley's version runs:

Hark how the Woods with Musick ring,
How sweet the Feather'd Minstrels sing!

'Vertue' begins with one of the most exquisitely simple and melodious verses that Herbert ever wrote, and no small part of its charm lies in 'the dying fall' of its short fourth line:

Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridall of the earth and skie:
The dew shall weep thy fall to night;
For thou must die.

Wesley by choosing Long Measure can retain the first three lines unaltered, but must fill out the fourth:

For Thou with all thy Sweets must die!

Seven of the Herbert poems are trochaic; all but two of them are converted by Wesley to iambic. Not only is the trochaic measure welcome as a change, but it often has a quicker pulse and a more direct attack: for instance, 'Praise' begins:

King of Glorie, King of Peace,
I will love thee:
And that love may never cease,
I will move thee.

The change to iambic Common Measure reduces its pointedness and its economy of words:

O King of Glory, King of Peace,
Thee only will I love:
Thee, that my love may never cease,
Incessant will I move!

A similar blunting of the edge follows the transformation of 'Discipline' from the trochaic short lines to Short Measure. Herbert began:

Throw away thy rod,
Throw away thy wrath;
O my God,
Take the gentle path.

For my heart's desire
Unto thine is bent:
I aspire
To a full consent.

The immediateness of the swift measure disappears in the rendering:

O throw away thy Rod,
O throw away thy Wrath!
My Gracious Saviour and my God,
O take the gentle Path.

Thou seest, my Heart's Desire
Still unto Thee is bent:
Still does my longing Soul aspire
To an entire Consent.

There are other poems, like 'The Flower' and 'The Glance' with far more intricate metrical schemes, which could only be tortured into the common measures. 'The Collar,' which M. Pierre Legouis regards as the earliest successful English example of *vers libre*, could not settle down comfortably in the even tenor of Common Measure, and the rewriting is a conspicuous failure, as it was bound to be, in spite of Wesley's skill. There are also in some poems occasional feminine endings which needed to be removed before they could fit the rigid form of a psalm-tune.

But more was needed than metrical change. There were obscurities in the 'Metaphysical' poets which would merely bewilder the singer: even the reader often needs to read more than once sentences where he must 'catch the sense at two removes.' Some clarifying for the new purpose was necessary, and, if Wesley found himself obliged to discard

some of the 'conceits' and quaint phrasing of Herbert, he showed considerable skill in interpreting the meaning correctly. For example, the rather obscure and recondite third verse of 'Vanitie' presents no difficulty in Wesley's rendering:

The subtle Chymist can divest
Gay Nature of her various Hues;
Stript of her thousand Forms, confest
She stands, and naked to his view:
At Distance other Sutors stand;
Her inmost Stores wait his Command.

Herbert, like Donne, often opens a poem abruptly—'Do not beguile my heart,' 'O do not use me,' or the dramatic beginning of 'The Collar':

I struck the board, and cry'd, No more.
I will abroad.
What? shall I ever sigh and pine?

Clearly, no such beginnings would befit a congregational hymn.

Herbert is also at times playful, and he dramatizes a situation by personifications and expostulations. Thus he imports liveliness into the poem 'Home,' which is in its general tenor a very plaintive appeal for relief from pain:

With one small sigh thou gav'st me th'other day
I blasted all the joyes about me:
And scouling on them as they pin'd away,
Now come again, said I, and flout me.

This is scarcely recognizable in the sober lines:

A Sigh Thou breath'st into my Heart,
And earthly Joys I view with Scorn:
Far from my soul, ye Dreams depart,
Nor mock me with your vain Return!

Herbert very deliberately kept to the language of common speech and used homely metaphors, but the taste of the eighteenth century demanded a special and more dignified diction for poetry. We must, therefore, be prepared to

find that Wesley sacrificed allusions to Tarantulas and 'a dolphin's skin,' and homely words like 'drudgerie divine' and 'snudge in quiet,' but sometimes we are surprised to find how completely the language and tone of the eighteenth century have imposed themselves on Herbert's verse. Nothing could be less like the style of Herbert and the poets of his age than the following examples, which could be multiplied:

Whate'er our ardent Souls require,
 Whate'er we wish is there;
 Thy Pow'r exceeds our Scant Desire,
 And chides our partial Pray'r.

Conscience and Reason's Pow'r deride,
 Let stronger Nature draw,
 Self be thy End, and Sense thy Guide,
 And Appetite thy Law.

But when Thou dost the Sense repress,
 Th' extatic Influence of thy Grace;
 Seem to desert thy lov'd Abode,
 And leave me sunk beneath my Load.

The Body's Calls forbid to hear,
 Born to regard with list'ning Ear
 The Dictates of his nobler Mind.

Himself alone he seeks to please,
 And carnal Joys prefers to Thine;
 Eager thro' Nature's Wilds to rove,
 Nor aw'd by Fear, nor charm'd by Love.

The thought is Herbert's thought, but the voice is Wesley's voice. The Country Parson of King Charles I's day has lost much of his grace and neat wit when he reappears with the trim antithesis and sober correctness of George II's reign.

Others before John Wesley had sought to make Herbert's lyrics available for church use, and it must be said in justice to him that he showed far more skill and taste than his predecessors did. For example, Dr. Grosart printed some strange specimens of a manuscript adaptation of most of *The Temple* poems 'for singing and praise,' made by a Puritan with the

initials 'I.B.' in 1682. The same difficulty as Wesley found in filling out Herbert's short lines led to the oddest padding. Thus 'Constance' begins:

Who is the honest man?
 he that doth constantly
 And strongly also can
 pursue what's good; I, I,
 That is most true
 to God Most High
 his neighbour nigh,
 himself (in view).

This attempt fortunately did not reach the press, but another attempt, *Select Hymns Taken out of Mr. Herbert's Temple & Turned into the Common Metre To Be Sung In The Tunes Ordinarily us'd in Churches*, is said by Dr. Julian to have been much used after its publication in London in 1697. Unlike these adapters, Wesley had a wide knowledge and love of the best literature and showed his catholicity and his independence of mind in his continued regard for Herbert's poetry when the tide had turned against it. His practical purpose in utilizing Herbert for his 'little companies' and his congregations constrained him to make more changes than his purely literary judgement would have sanctioned. Mr. Curnock remarks that 'not even the skill of John Wesley sufficed to make George Herbert an acceptable voice in modern church psalmody.' This was not Herbert's fault either, as he had not written for the church but for the closet, if indeed it is not truer to say that he wrote primarily for himself, to procure the relief of uttering his own most intimate self-communings. Perhaps, in the light of over forty years' experience, Wesley himself came to see that Herbert's poems, either in their original form or in their eighteenth-century refashioning, were unsuitable for congregational use, and it is significant that only one was included in the *Collection of Hymns for the use of the people called Methodists*, which from 1780 in numerous editions was to play so large a part in Methodist worship.

However unsatisfying the adaptations may now seem to us, it will remain true that John Wesley made Herbert's name and many of his characteristic thoughts and felicitous expressions known to ever widening circles throughout the period of his greatest eclipse.

F. E. HUTCHINSON.

NOTE.—Mr. Green in his indispensable *Bibliography of Wesley* and Dr. Julian in *A Dictionary of Hymnology* hesitate about the date of the Charlestown volume, because John Wesley, in sending an account of himself to Rawlinson for a revised edition of Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* on March 15, 1740, states: 'I published . . . *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* in 1736.' There can be, however, no reasonable doubt that the date on the title-page, 1737, is correct, in view of the new evidence available in the *Diary*. Wesley landed at Charlestown on April 14, 1737, and there interviewed his printer and publisher, Mr. Lewis Timothy. Four days later at 9 p.m., he is engaged in correcting proofs. The first entry in the *Diary* of a hymn-book being used at afternoon service, besides Tate and Brady, is on Sunday, June 19, 1737. No other publication is attributed to Wesley during the Georgian period.

THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD

THE Parables of Jesus stand in a class by themselves. They have laid hold of the imagination of Christendom from the earliest days, and even now the Christian preacher can find no more popular subject for pulpit exposition than these life-like stories from another age and clime.

Those who desire an outline of the history of the exposition of the Parables of our Lord will find it in chap. vi. of the first volume of Jülicher's compendious work.¹ For preachers of an older generation in this country three writers stand out as guides to the exposition of the Gospel parables. Archbishop Trench's *Notes on the Parables of our Lord* first appeared in 1841 and ran through seven editions in sixteen years. For half a century it held almost undisputed sway. The patristic learning it displays and the deep piety of the author gave it distinction, but the elaborate allegorical method of interpretation followed throughout explains why it can never again come into use. Two little volumes by Marcus Dods in the 'Household Library of Exposition' were marked by that exegetical sanity and robust common sense which gave a healthy savour to all that came from the pen of that prince of expositors. He has been dubbed 'the apostle of the obvious,' but it was the peculiar gift of Marcus Dods to make an interpretation obvious *after* he had set it forth. Then in 1893 appeared the book which swept away the old and fanciful exposition of the parables. Dr. A. B. Bruce was in his day a pioneer in methods of scientific Biblical study, and his *Parabolic Teaching of Christ* was the book which sounded the death-knell of Trench's long reign. But the revolutionary books of one generation have had their day and served their purpose forty years later. So the preacher with an intellectual conscience is on the look-

¹ *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, vol. i. (ed. 1899), Vol. ii (ed. 1899). The two volumes were reprinted within one binding with slight corrections in 1910.

out for the latest aids by which the parables of Jesus can be studied in the light of modern knowledge. This is not to say that Bruce and Marcus Dods are useless. There are elements in the recorded teaching of Jesus that stand out in abiding significance, and no change in the method of approach can affect the faithful expounding of these claims and demands. Before naming three recent books that deal with the parables of our Lord we may indicate a few of the reasons why the modern scholar cannot rest content even with the admirable expositions of forty years ago.¹

Within the period just indicated an entirely different approach to the Synoptic Gospels has been adopted by scholars of all lands. It is now clearly recognized that we cannot take any passage from any Gospel just as it stands and assume that this contains the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. Behind the Gospels which we possess lay earlier documents, and behind these we must allow for a period of oral tradition, when fragmentary episodes in the ministry of Jesus were being recounted by preachers and teachers and when sayings and stories from the lips of our Lord were being handed on from mouth to mouth. The modern expositor must try to recover not only the original form of a saying of Jesus but the situation which gave rise to it.

During the last three or four years three books by highly competent New Testament scholars have approached the parables of Jesus along the lines of modern source criticism. First came *The Parables of Jesus, their Art and Use*, by

¹ As an egregious example of the discredited method of allegorizing the parables we may recall a sermon preached in Manchester during the annual meetings of the National Free Church Council in March, 1905. One of the most famous preachers of our time took as his text the three parables in Luke xv. as setting forth the doctrine of the Trinity! The parable of the Prodigal Son was to represent the Suffering of the Father, that of the Lost Sheep the Saviourhood of the Son, and that of the Lost Coin the Searching of the Spirit. Whatever might be said about the artificial alliteration of such headings it must be laid down emphatically that this is not honest exposition. It is handling the word of God deceitfully.

Dr. A. T. Cadoux.¹ Last year Prof. C. H. Dodd gave the Shaffer Lectures at Yale, which were published under the title *The Parables of the Kingdom*.² As far back as 1915-19 Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley delivered the Warburton Lectures in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. These were carefully revised and re-written in the light of later investigations, and were published this summer as *The Gospel Parables in the Light of their Jewish Background*.³ The special merit of Dr. A. T. Cadoux's book is the way in which he tries to discover the particular occasion in the life of Jesus appropriate to the parable and to view the parable as an argument eliciting a judgement from the original hearers and from us. Professor Dodd's book is one of the most remarkable contributions to New Testament theology made in our time. It is not an exposition of the parables as a whole. Attention is concentrated on the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus, and those parables only which illustrate this conception come under review. Since 1900 the teaching of Jesus may be said to have been studied from three standpoints. First, we had the Liberal Protestantism whose most brilliant exponent was Adolf von Harnack. This school regarded the Mission of Jesus as a proclamation of the Kingdom of God, that is, of a rule of righteousness attained by the observance of the socio-ethical principles of the Sermon on the Mount. Then came the reaction under Albert Schweitzer, who was really popularizing the view of the Kingdom of God set forth by Johannes Weiss in the first edition of his pamphlet on that theme which had appeared in 1892. The 'consistent eschatologists' emphasized the very elements in the sayings of Jesus which were passed over as irrelevant by the Liberal Protestants, found the sole key to our Lord's teaching in the predictions of an imminent catastrophe of judgement, and interpreted the moral precepts of the Gospels as an 'interim ethic.' Although Karl Barth and the Theology of Crisis are not once named in this book, Professor Dodd may

¹ James Clarke (no date). ² Nisbet (1935). ³ S.P.C.K. (1936).

have been influenced in his cardinal ideas by this latest school of thought, possibly through Rudolf Bultmann, with whose negative criticism, however, he has nothing in common. The book to which he makes most frequent acknowledgement is Rudolf Otto's *Kingdom of God and Son of Man*.¹

The fixed point from which Dr. Harold Dodd starts his interpretation of the teaching regarding the Kingdom of God represents the ministry of Jesus as 'realized eschatology.' That is to say, the ministry of Jesus is set forth in His teaching 'as the impact upon this world of the "powers of the world to come" in a series of events, unprecedented and unrepeatable, now in actual process.'² Yet there is also a predictive element in the teaching of Jesus, for that was entirely in keeping with His prophetic function. As was the practice of the Old Testament prophets, 'He forecast historical developments of the situation in which He stood.' He foretold a crisis which would involve His own death, and declared that His followers would suffer persecution. He also forecast 'historical disaster for the Jewish people and their temple.' As for the shortening of historical perspective in Biblical prophecy Prof. Dodd reminds us that 'when the profound realities underlying a situation are depicted in the form of historical prediction, the *certainty* and *inevitability* of the spiritual processes involved are expressed in terms of the *immediate imminence* of the event.' Of a 'one far off divine event' on the plane of history, Jesus, according to Prof. Dodd, says nothing at all. 'When He spoke of the Kingdom in terms of the future, His words suggest, not any readjustment of conditions on this earth,

¹ *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn* (1934).

² *op. cit.* p. 51. If Prof. Dodd is right, he has taken an important step towards vindicating as authentic the characteristic teaching of the Fourth Gospel. In this connexion we call the reader's attention to pp. 50, 186. But anyone who with the help of a concordance consults all the passages in St. John in which the words 'judge' and 'judgement' occur can test this matter for himself.

but the glories of a world beyond this.¹ Again, 'unless we have interpreted the Gospels quite wrongly, the thought of Jesus passed directly from the immediate situation to the eternal order lying beyond all history, of which He spoke in the language of apocalyptic symbolism.'² How far this method of interpretation is removed both from the ethico-social programme of the Liberals and from the imminent and catastrophic eschatology of Schweitzer!

It may be that some who read that 'the parables represent the interpretation which our Lord offered of His own ministry,'³ will feel that they can have no meaning for us to-day. To these Prof. Dodd replies that 'a just understanding of their original import in relation to a particular situation in the past will put us on right lines in applying them to our own new situations.'⁴ Dr. Oesterley's book is of special value to the preacher because he brings forth out of his ample store of Rabbinic and Apocalyptic parallels things new and old. We are thus enabled again and again to stand in the crowd and hear the words of Jesus, understanding allusions which are not obvious to the modern reader, and recognizing imagery and phraseology which belong to the conventional framework of the Jewish apocalypse.⁵

The first question that arises in our minds is Why did Jesus use the parabolic method of instruction? The obvious

¹ *op. cit.* p. 74.

² *op. cit.* p. 207.

³ *op. cit.* p. 197.

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 195.

⁵ The chief weakness in these books is that they do not make sufficient allowance for the probability that Jesus used the same material with varying applications on different occasions. Thus the parables of the Talents and of the Pounds, the parables of the Marriage of the King's Son and of the Great Supper, may well be records of distinct parables. It is also probable that a harmonistic tendency would appear very early in the oral or in the literary tradition, just as harmonization can be traced within the period of our textual tradition.

answer to this seems to be that parables helped the hearer to understand and to remember. Every teacher knows the value of a good illustration. There are three ways in which Jesus ensured that His teaching should be remembered. He used the crisp epigram; some of his longer sayings were cast into poetic form, and followed the method of Semitic parallelism and assonance¹; and He indulged the oriental love of story and parable. But there is a passage found with slight variations in all three Synoptics, which seems to give an exactly opposite reason for the use of parables.² 'To you has been granted the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but to those outside everything comes in parables, in order that they may indeed see without perceiving and may indeed hear without understanding, lest they should turn and be forgiven.' This is not the place to record all the methods by which expositors have attempted to explain this notorious *crux interpretum*. The main difficulty turns upon the Greek particle *ὥτα*, which normally means 'in order that.' Some point out that in late Greek the 'purpose' construction is sometimes used to mark 'result.' Others suggest that this particle has been wrongly used to render an ambiguous particle in the Aramaic original. Prof. Dodd calls attention to seven words within these three verses in Mark 'which are not proper to the rest of the Synoptic record,' but are characteristic of the Pauline vocabulary and are probably a piece of apostolic teaching. We know how diligently the primitive Church sifted the Old Testament for *testimonia*, i.e., passages which seemed to find fulfilment in the life and experience of our Lord. We know that Isaiah vi. 9-10 found a place in this armoury of early Christian apologetic (cf. John xii. 37-41; Acts xxviii. 26ff.). The probability, therefore, seems to be that here we have the Evangelist's comment upon a perplexing situation—the failure of so many of our Lord's hearers to appreciate the significance of His message.

¹ See C. F. Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord*.

² Mark iv. 10-12; Matt. xiii. 10-13; Luke viii. 9-10.

Turning to the ancient testimony he finds that history has repeated itself, or, as it would then be put, prophecy has been fulfilled. In view, however, of such passages as Matt. vii. 6 we cannot rule out the possibility that sometimes in His teaching Jesus did deliberately exercise reserve, or at least that He put His hearers to the test by making them think hard for themselves. Dr. Oesterley thinks that actual words of Jesus have been expanded and that the form in which they are given in Luke viii. 10 comes nearest to the original saying: 'Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of God; but to the rest in parables; as a result that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand.' 'Thus,' adds Dr. Oesterley, 'it seems to have been our Lord's intention that, in uttering parables about the Kingdom of Heaven their deeper meaning should be reserved for that inner circle of His followers who cling faithfully to Him and to His teaching, although they may not themselves at first have grasped its fuller and deeper meaning.'¹ According to Drs. Dodd and Cadoux the interpretation appended to some of these Parables of the Kingdom² and attributed to our Lord himself are additions made by the early Church, on the ground that they are elaborate allegorizations which are quite inconsistent with the plain sense of the parables.

This leads to another question: Has every parable one application and one only? Sometimes the purpose of the parable is plainly recorded by the Evangelist. Luke is specially given to supplying the context in this fashion, and it is not obvious why such writers as Jülicher and Bultmann dismiss these contexts with a wave of the hand. The three parables about joy over the discovery of lost possessions are introduced in Luke xv. 1-2 with a sentence about the murmurs of Pharisees and scribes who saw that Jesus ate with publicans

¹ *The Gospel Parables*, p. 54.

² e.g. The Sower, the Tares and the Drag-net.

and sinners. The story of the Importunate Widow is introduced (Luke xviii. 1) as 'a parable about the need of always praying and never losing heart'; and the story of the Pharisee and the Publican begins, 'He also told the following parable to certain persons who were sure of their own goodness and looked down upon everybody else.' The Evangelist is certainly a wise guide in suggesting to us that we must look for a simple and direct application arising out of the situation. One of the best chapters in Dr. Cadoux's book is entitled 'The Parable and its Point.' He rightly discards the allegorizing method of interpretation,¹ though he thinks that Jülicher has gone too far in undue simplification so that 'the parable becomes a figuratively enjoined platitude obscured by unnecessary ornament.'² He contends that 'in the point of the story as a story we may expect to find the point of its application.' Following a hint by Dr. G. A. Buttrick³ he turns to that prince of story-tellers, Abraham Lincoln, to illustrate the method. Lincoln, addressing (I believe) the State legislature on the question of slavery, told the story of a farmer in Illinois who imported a hog from Europe, and told his two boys not to let it out of its sty. They disobeyed and the hog chased them, one up a tree and the other round it. The second boy could only save himself from attack in the rear by seizing the hog's tail and following it round and round the tree. When he was almost at his last gasp he shouted to his brother: 'I say, John, come down quick and help me let this hog go.' Probably, as Dr. Cadoux says, Lincoln's audience had seen the point before he applied it in one sentence: 'Now, Governor, that is exactly my case. I wish some one would come and help me let this hog go.' Yet the typical homilist would find in this parable lessons on the danger of filial disobedience, the importance of gripping

¹ We remember a Plymouth Brother who heard that a minister had preached from the Parable of the Leaven. 'But what did he make of the *three* measures of meal?' was his immediate challenge.

² *op. cit.* p. 52.

³ *The Parables of Jesus* (1928) p. vii.

a situation firmly, that the best method of defence is attack, the danger of immobility, the benefits of fraternal co-operation, and so on. It is the failure to distinguish between the essential point and the irrelevant detail that has based unworthy conceptions of God on the parables which teach the need of persevering faith in prayer. We should have heard less about 'besieging the throne of Grace' if men had remembered our Lord's use of the *argumentum a fortiori*, 'If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father . . . !' At the same time it would be foolish to ignore the skill with which our Lord built up some of His stories in such a fashion as to compel a moral judgement from His hearers all the way through. Prof. Dodds is undoubtedly right, that the point of the parable of the Prodigal Son lies in the contrast between the delight of a father at the return of his scapegrace son, and the churlish attitude of the respectable elder brother. But it was not without meaning that Jesus described the nemesis of selfishness, and the bitter contrast of circumstance that brought the prodigal to his senses, and led him by the way of penitence to discover that a father's welcome awaited him. The story as Jesus told it was true to life, with a fulness of suggestion that could not be lost on his hearers. These touches are germane to the story, whereas the various attempts to explain 'the first robe' either as the restoration of 'man's original innocence lost by Adam,' or as 'the robe of our Saviour's righteousness,' and to discover in the slaughtered calf an allusion to the sacrificial death of Christ, are merely pious impositions.¹

In any study of the Parables it is helpful to have some kind of classification. Bruce grouped them in three classes according to purpose and subject matter: (a) Theoretic Parables, (b) the Parables of Grace, and (c) the Parables of Judgement. Jülicher, who includes in his comprehensive

¹ See Jülicher, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 351f.

survey not merely 'earthly stories with a heavenly meaning,' but the numerous pictorial sayings and proverbs found in the Gospels, again has a three-fold classification: (a) Similitudes, (b) Parables, (c) Illustrative Stories (the last section consisting of four Lucan stories: the Good Samaritan, the Pharisee and the Publican, the Rich Fool, and Dives and Lazarus). Dr. Cadoux seems to group them in seven classes: Parables (a) of Israel and the Nations, (b) of Conflict, (c) of Vindication, (d) of Crisis and Opportunity, (e) of the Future, (f) of Duty and Personality, (g) of God and Man. After this, Dr. Oesterley's three-fold division seems rather tame: (a) Parables of the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, (b) other Parables concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, (c) the Lucan Parables. Without complicating the matter by adding another scheme to those already mentioned we point out that it is important to observe the clearly marked distinction between the type of parable preserved in Matt. xiii. and the kind of illustrative story so characteristic of the Gospel according to Luke.

If Dr. Cadoux is most helpful in directing our attention to the actual situation which called forth each of the parables and in suggesting the true line of historical interpretation; if Prof. Dodd gives a masterly analysis of the recorded sayings in the Gospels about the Kingdom of God,¹ and interprets the Parables of the Kingdom in the light of the 'realized eschatology' of Jesus; Dr. Oesterley has done a great service to the expositor by bringing the Jewish background of many of the parables into bold relief. Sometimes fuller knowledge of this kind removes a difficulty which troubles the modern reader but obviously was not felt by the Lord and by His hearers. A good example of this is the moral problem raised by the Parable of the Hidden

¹ The student who has a wide margin Greek Testament in which he culls exegetical notes from the best sources will reap a veritable harvest from the footnotes in Prof. Dodd's book.

Treasure. Prof. Dodd, for example, says: 'The finder of the treasure hides it again, so that the owner shall not get wind of his find, and then bids for the property, presumably at its market value as agricultural land. He is as unscrupulous in his way as the Unjust Steward himself.'¹ Now it has always seemed to us that these two parables have one element that distinguishes them from those of the Unjust Judge and the Importunate Friend to which we have already referred. The action of the man who found the treasure and also that of the Unjust Steward are definitely commended without the slightest suggestion that this particular conduct is dishonest. With regard to the first, Dr. Oesterley quotes a saying from the Mishna which shows how Jewish law stood in this matter. 'What finds belong to the finder, and what [finds] must one cause to be proclaimed? These finds belong to the finder—if a man finds scattered fruit, scattered money . . . these belong to the finder.' This principle may well have extended to treasure trove. Unfortunately Dr. Oesterley does not furnish such help in dealing with the Unjust Steward. But there are two points in that story which suggest that the usual interpretation is not wholly right. First, the charge against the steward is not that he has stolen, but that he has been a wasteful steward.² When 'the account of his stewardship' is asked for, the situation is not that of an emergency audit to convict the steward of fraud. Rather he is called upon to deliver up his books, the portfolio, or seals of office. Secondly, whether the words 'the lord praised the unrighteous steward' refer to the owner of the estate or to Jesus, the man's action in remitting a percentage of the covenanted rent is unambiguously commended. It has seemed to us, ever since reading a note by Mrs. Margaret D. Gibson more than thirty years ago, that our difficulty is due to importing Western ideas into the story. That famous orientalist wrote:³ 'It seems to me that the difficulty lies

¹ *op. cit.* p. 112n.

² ὡς διασκορπίζων τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ.

³ *Expos. Times*, xiv (1902-3), p. 334.

simply in our not being sufficiently familiar with Eastern customs. What may have been the practice of stewards in our Lord's time, I hope that better antiquaries than I am will take the trouble to tell us; but I know that at the present time, whenever Orientals are left to their own methods, uncontrolled by any protectorate of Europeans, the plan is, to farm out taxes or property of any description. The steward would therefore demand from the cultivators much more than he would pay to the overlord, perhaps even double, and pocket the difference himself. This is so usual in the East that those who were listening to our Lord, many of whom were themselves publicans, that is, farmers of taxes, would understand the situation intuitively, and would not need any explanation. They would know that the steward, in telling the cultivators to write less in their bills than he had originally demanded from them, was simply renouncing his own exorbitant profits, without in any way defrauding his master.¹ The main point of the story, then, is the insight shown by the steward when in a crisis. He values the invisible asset of friendship above the tangible advantages of hard cash, even though destitution stares him in the face. According to Luke, our Lord goes on from this to draw two corollaries. First, money, viewed in one aspect, is 'unrighteous'; it lures men to all kinds of evil. And yet, wisely used, it can be reminted and become the currency of the Kingdom of Heaven. Used selfishly it is 'unrighteous mammon,' used unselfishly it creates goodwill. Secondly, fidelity in handling worldly wealth is a test of fitness for spiritual responsibility. The steward's careless administration of the estate led inevitably to his dismissal. Carelessness leading to dishonesty in a financial trust, just as inability

¹ Dr. Oesterley (*op. cit.* p. 198) in rejecting a rather similar suggestion made by Edersheim says: 'If, however, as we have shown to be the case, the conditions are Jewish, he would have no rights; a Jewish steward had no perquisites by right.' This, however, is the very point at issue. Dr. Oesterley assumes that the steward was a slave. This is by no means certain.

to drive a straight furrow (Luke ix. 62), proves that a man is unfit for the Kingdom of God. Is there not here a glance at the treasurer of the apostolic company, whose unreliability in money matters was already preparing the way for his tragic collapse at the end of the Gospel story? This seems far more likely than Dr. Cadoux's reference to the Sadducaic high priests who have made gain out of the Court of the Gentiles and have bartered the national ideal and the interests of a spiritual trust to gain Roman favour, and so secure for themselves their lucrative monopoly. Dr. Oesterley thinks that 'the lesson taught is that our Lord demands of His followers consistency of life; the ordinary relationship of worldly men to one another is taken as the starting point for showing that this demand is, in the very nature of things, a just one.'¹

Another parable which loses not a little of its meaning from our forgetfulness of the background is the story of the Good Samaritan. It was never the way of Jesus to set up men of straw that he might knock them down with one sweep of the arm. The summary of the Law in two clauses may have seemed no more than a religious truism. It was the supplementary question that seemed so hard to answer: 'Who is my neighbour?' Jesus in His reply did not set up a contrast between two callous ecclesiastics and a humane stranger. The Priest and the Levite represented the national religion, but they of all men were under solemn obligation to keep the ceremonial law. If they came within the prohibited range of a corpse they became disqualified from performing their sacred duties, and from the intercourse of home life for seven days. At the end of three days, and again after the seventh day, they must be disinfected with running water and with the sprinkling of the ashes of a burnt heifer and with other ingredients. A costly kind of

¹ *op. cit.* p. 201. Dr. Oesterley's argument should be read in its entirety. Even so the conclusion seems as banal as Dr. Cadoux's would appear to be far-fetched.

quarantine!¹ The Scribe whose question provoked the story, as well as everyone in the crowd, knew the reason why the Priest and the Levite gave the corpse-like body of the bludgeoned man so wide a berth. Rather than risk ceremonial pollution and all that this entailed, they left the wounded man to die. The Samaritan risked his own safety by dismounting from his beast and cumbering himself with the dead weight of an insensible man, while brigands were lurking in the adjoining caverns. 'You ask,' says Jesus, 'Who is my neighbour? I ask you, which of these three proved himself worthy of the name of the good neighbour?' The judgement demanded was all the more heavy because it presupposed a sympathetic understanding of the hesitation that kept the two Temple officials from crossing the road. It is strange that Dr. Oesterley has not supplied the clue to this story.

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Finally, Dr. Oesterley has done great service in reminding us that some of the parables have obvious references to passages that must have been familiar to the contemporaries of Jesus. Every reader of the Parable of the Unjust Judge has found some difficulty in the words that follow (Luke xviii. 7-8). Let him, however, read Dr. Oesterley's rendering of the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus xxxv (xxxii) 15-25 (12-19), and then compare this description of the God of justice with the parable and the words in which it is applied. The Lucan story then has a far deeper meaning.²

Another example, to which we can only briefly refer, is the apocalyptic imagery which was borrowed from the conventional scenery of the day of judgement. Prof. Burkitt³ showed how impossible it is to read the parable of the Great Assize (Matt. xxv. 31-46) without recognizing that the

¹ See Numbers xix.

² *op. cit.* pp. 224f.

³ Schweich Lectures, 1914. *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, pp. 24f.

scenery is borrowed from Enoch lxii and lxiii. Dr. Oesterley argues that the original parable ('one of the noblest passages in the entire Gospel,' is Dr. Montefiore's tribute) was edited eschatologically by the Church in somewhat later days.

One further example we may offer, since no reference is made to this recent theory in any of the three books before us. It has often been conjectured that Luke xvi. 26-31 is a later addition to the Parable of Dives and Lazarus. Dr. Oesterley himself inclines to this view. But there seems good reason for thinking that Jesus was here handling, in an original way and for a purpose of His own, a well-known story that originated in Egypt, and seems to have undergone some modification after being transplanted to the soil of Palestine. It was Prof. Hugo Gressmann¹ who called attention to a first century demotic papyrus which tells a story that had probably been current for centuries. It tells how the god Horus was born as son to Setne, son of Rameses II. One day at Memphis, Setne saw two corpses taken out to burial. Observing that the corpse of the rich man was magnificently attired and attended by many mourners, whilst that of the poor man was carried upon a humble mat without a single mourner in attendance, Setne exclaimed how much better the rich fare in the underworld than the poor. But his divine son, Horus, conducted him to the other world to reveal the contrast of their fortunes there. 'Seest thou this notable man, magnificently attired in royal linen, near by Osiris? He is that same poor man whom thou sawest, when he was carried out of Memphis to his grave without attendants, and covered up upon a mat. He was brought to the underworld, and his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds. . . . Therefore it was ordered by Osiris that the grave clothes of the rich man should be given to

¹ Gressmann's essay 'Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus' is to be found in *Abhandlungen d. preuss. Ak. d. Wissensch.* Berlin, 1918, No. 7. This account is taken from Prof. J. M. Creed's summary in his commentary on St. Luke (1930), pp. 209f.

the poor man, and that the poor man should be placed among the splendid and the transfigured ones.' Then follows the revelation of the miserable fate of the wealthy and wicked man, with the conclusion that he who is good on earth receives good in the underworld, but he who is evil on earth receives evil.' According to Gressmann the story underwent a modification at the hands of the Rabbis, who told a story of the death and burial of a poor but pious student of the law, and of a wealthy and godless publican. Their conditions were reversed in the next world, but in order to illustrate the consistency of the principle of merit it was revealed that the rich man's transient prosperity was a reward for some slight good deed, while the good man's misfortunes on earth were due to a temporary lapse. The seven different versions in which this Rabbinic story appears is some evidence of its popularity and of the freedom with which the theme was handled. Gressmann thinks that the tale travelled from Egypt to Palestine, and while the Rabbis made a characteristic use of it, Jesus also appropriated it. But how different is His use! For Him it provides the introduction to a lesson which lies at the heart of the message of His ministry. 'If they believe not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded even if one shall have risen from the dead.' He who denounced the generation that sought a sign, refused to work miracles to stampede the crowd into the acceptance of His claims. From the temptation in the wilderness to the death upon the Cross He rejected every method of creating a faith that was anything but a response to a spiritual appeal. Even the appearances of the Risen Christ were not granted to any but those who had already put their trust in Him, and who recognized Him with the discernment of love. Faith is an exercise of man's moral nature, and a faith that was forced by an ocular demonstration would be no faith at all.

W. F. HOWARD.

SINAI AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS

THE triangular peninsula at the north end of the Red Sea has for long been known as Sinai, certainly during most of the Christian era. It is a wild, mountainous country, especially in the south, with little water, and few places capable of cultivation. Five or six thousand Bedouin manage to find bare sustenance for themselves, their flocks and herds. The climate can scarcely have changed during the last four thousand years, or inscriptions on sandstone would long ago have completely weathered away.

It is open to serious doubt whether this is the Sinai of Moses, or that the mountain now called Jebel Musa is Horeb. Most scholars of to-day do not accept the identification. Whether the Biblical Sinai or no, the place is the one which, with its copper and turquoise, attracted ancient Egypt, and whenever that country was flourishing, mining expeditions were dispatched there. These expeditions were elaborately organized, and were only possible when the Pharaoh's position was secure and strong. From the Third to the Sixth Dynasty, they were frequent. Then came a period of decline, and Sinai gives no evidence of Egyptian activity. At the close of the Eleventh Dynasty, Egypt revived, and inscriptions of this and the following dynasty are frequent. Then came a further period of decline, or rather of disaster. It was the age of the Hyksos, and Sinai saw no Egyptian mining expeditions till the time of the brilliant Eighteenth Dynasty. The Twentieth Dynasty sees the end of Egyptian mining activities in the peninsula. Thus Sinai is a kind of barometer by which we can measure Egyptian prosperity.

The copper mines were situated in the Wady Maghara, near the west coast of the peninsula, and approximately half-way down between Suez and the southern point of the triangle. Some twenty miles to the north-east, but only

to be reached by a rough and circuitous route, lay the turquoise mines on the plateau of Serâbît el-Khadîm.

At each of these places the Egyptians left inscriptions behind, and the existence of these has long been known. Diodorus Siculus (*circa* 40 B.C.) said that on the south-west coast was an altar of solid stone, *very old, inscribed with ancient unknown letters*. Various other writers knew of the inscriptions and offered different theories concerning them. Dean Stanley saw some of them on his visit during the winter of 1852-3, but gives little definite information about them, realizing that 'to enter into the subject would require a knowledge of languages, which,' he says, 'I do not possess.' In 1868, a traveller named Palmer made a squeeze of an inscription in the Wady Maghara. This record still exists, but the inscription itself has been lost.

The present interest began with the publication by Sir Flinders Petrie of *Researches in Sinai* in 1906. In this he describes his journey to Maghara and to Serâbît el-Khadîm with its mines and the temple of the goddess Hat-hor. Though this goddess bore an Egyptian name, the character of the temple and worship was clearly Semitic, not Egyptian. Here, apparently, the visiting Egyptians honoured the goddess of the land, an Astarte, and gave to her an Egyptian name.

Petrie found many inscriptions in the ordinary Egyptian hieroglyphic characters, but also eleven others in an unknown script, and these he termed 'foreign inscriptions.' Though some of the signs in these were the same as in the hieroglyphs, yet they made no sense when read as such. He noticed, too, that there was frequent repetition of a certain group of signs on inscriptions coming from a considerable distance from one another. He stated his belief that these signs were not mere scribbling, but formed a definite system, probably, from the small number of signs used, an *alphabetic* system. Beyond this he could not go. All the inscriptions had been short to start with, and were now incomplete,

having been inscribed on sandstone, which naturally had weathered or got damaged during the long ages which had elapsed since the inscriptions were cut. Some of these were still *in situ* on the walls of mine workings. Others were on stelae (monumental slabs) or statuettes.

The first step towards decipherment was made by Dr. Alan Gardiner in 1915. He was working on these Sinaitic inscriptions along with the late Professor Peet. Those in ordinary hieroglyphs had presented no serious difficulty and had been numbered consecutively 1 to 344. There remained those in the unknown script, and these were numbered 345 onwards. A sphinx (345) had been brought to the British Museum. A statuette (346) was at Cairo. Another inscribed statuette (347) had been sent to Brussels, while Palmer's impress of the lost inscription at Maghara was number 348. The others, 349 to 355, were at Serâbît, where they had been left owing to the difficulty of transport, and in some cases, of cutting them away from the native rock. Study, therefore, had to be based on photographs, a method never too satisfactory.

Gardiner and Peet turned with some reluctance to the photographs of these unpromising, fragmentary inscriptions in an unknown script. The language was obviously not Egyptian, for though the signs were clearly akin to the Egyptian hieroglyphs, yet it was equally clear that they could not be interpreted by any form of Egyptian writing. Gardiner's attention was drawn to the ox-head in 349 and elsewhere, and he said, 'That must be *aleph*.' (It was known from Egyptian records that Semites were employed in the mines at Sinai.) Professor Peet, with his usual caution, thought the suggestion a daring one.

Some weeks later, Gardiner returned again to the study of these signs. He could clearly make out pictures of an ox-head, house, eye, head, water, snake, &c. Applying Semitic names to these signs he got *aleph*, *bêth*, *'ayin*, *rêsh*, *mîm*, *nâhâsh*, and so on. He noticed a particular group of

four letters which stood out with great prominence, and appeared on six out of the eleven inscriptions. Applying the Semitic names as above to these signs, he got *Béth*, 'ayin, *lâmedh*, *tau*, that is to say, *Ba'alat*, or lady. He remembered that this was the name given in Semitic to the goddess of Byblos, in Syria, who was called Hat-hor in Egyptian, and hundreds of inscriptions at Serâbît had mentioned Hat-hor, Lady of Turquoise. Clearly, he had solved the reading of those four signs.

That fortunate guess was the foundation for further studies which were undertaken by A. E. Cowley in England, Eisler and Hubert Grimme in Germany, Bruston in France, Furlani in Italy, and others. Their findings would have been of little interest except to specialists, had it not been that some sensational conjectures were put forth, especially by Grimme, which were eagerly seized upon in certain quarters. It is because of these theories, that a plain, straightforward account of the work done, needs to be written.

It was most desirable that the inscriptions left by Petrie on the inaccessible plateau of Serâbît should be made available for study at first hand, and when Kirsopp Lake and a small expedition from Harvard University went to Sinai in 1927, he was asked to visit Serâbît and, if possible, bring the inscriptions to Cairo. This he did, finding also three fresh inscriptions. A Finnish expedition brought back a further short inscription (359) and a second Harvard expedition in 1930, discovered still more inscriptions, so that the enumeration now goes up to number 373. In 1929 W. F. Albright drew attention to the fact that on a piece of pottery of the thirteenth century B.C., discovered forty years ago at Tell el-Hesi, were signs very similar to those of the Sinaitic script. In the same year, a piece of pottery of the eighteenth or nineteenth century B.C. and bearing characters of this same Sinaitic script was found at Gezer, in southwestern Palestine.

Better photographs, easier access to the originals, and the

increased number of inscriptions gave an impetus to further study, and mention ought to be made of the work of Père Barrois, of the Dominican school in Jerusalem, of Romain Butin of the Catholic University of America, of Martin Sprengling of Chicago, and of Dr. Leibovitch in Germany. Further studies have also been put forward by Cowley and H. Grimme.

These inscriptions are short, and cut rudely on sandstone by men who were by no means artists. Sandstone easily crumbles, and so many of the characters have disappeared, and others are imperfect. Adding up all the letters which remain on the thirty fragments of inscriptions now known to us, we only get about three hundred and fifty, and about forty of these are uncertain, owing to the state of the stone. It will be seen at once that many of the inscriptions consist of a few letters only. Even in the longer inscriptions there are many breaks, and thus while words and phrases can be deciphered and identified as Semitic, there is little opportunity for deciding to what branch of Semitic the language belongs. Butin is content to call it 'Old Semitic.' Nor can much confidence be placed on decipherment and translations when these are offered to us as detailed and complete.

Yet it must not be imagined that all is uncertainty. Far from it. There is no doubt that the language is Semitic, that the system of writing is alphabetic, and that the signs used were consonants only and numbered about twenty-five. As to the value of these signs there is also pretty general agreement.

This is the earliest writing that we possess which is entirely alphabetic, and it may be asked how it came about that a people obviously somewhat primitive should have produced an alphabet when the more cultured nations did not do so. But this is what one should expect. As Butin says, among literary circles, the introduction of a simpler alphabet was not likely to succeed. 'The learned, familiar with the more complex methods of writing already current, would

not have felt the need of a new method, even though it was simpler. They would rather have scorned it as useful to the ignorant, but not worthy of their attainments. The Egyptians, for instance, had every means at their hand for the simplification of their hieroglyphic system, and yet, even when this simplified alphabet was in use among the Phoenicians, they did not deem it such an improvement as to lead them to change. . . . It is not the educated Chinese who desire a simplification of their ideogrammatic system, and even among ourselves, phonetic spelling does not find many supporters in intellectual circles.'

The Sinai alphabet had its antecedents. A millennium or more earlier, the Egyptians of the Pyramid Age had obtained a virtual alphabet of twenty-four letters from short monosyllables, but they had not used it exclusively, employing besides many ideograms and biliteral phonograms. Later, they seem to have recognized the principle of *acrophony*, i.e. that a sound could be expressed by a word which began with it, the reverse of our 'b for bat' and 'd for dog,' and like the spelling we use to-day on the telephone, when we say beer for b, don for d, toe for t, &c.

The method was used by some genius among the Semitic miners at Sinai. He did not borrow more than the *idea* from the Egyptians, taking some of their signs, but not their sounds. For him, the picture represented the Semitic word, the ox-head giving *aleph*, the man's head *rêsh*, the eye '*ayin*, the fish *samekh*, the Semitic names for these objects. Who was this genius? No one can say, and probably no one will ever know.

With what do the inscriptions deal? Some are clearly dedications to the goddess, and this is what might be expected seeing they are found at a temple of an Astarte. Others seem to indicate the mines and shelters of the different gangs of miners. Names occur and great interest has been aroused by the fact that undoubtedly we have several times the combination 'M-Sh'; which can be read Môshê or

Moses, though once it appears followed by a 'ayin which would give us Mesha, the name of the well-known king of Moab and also of Caleb's eldest son. This combination M-Sh occurs in inscription 349, and in view of the sensational translations of it offered by Hubert Grimme, it may not be out of place to deal with it in some detail.

The inscription was on the wall of a mine shaft, and was enclosed in a frame rectangular on three sides and curved at the top, the shape of a simple headstone in a cemetery. It is about twelve and a half inches in height, and nine and a half wide, and is so much broken and weathered, that it has been described as a magnificent ruin. Other inscriptions run vertically, but this is arranged in seven horizontal lines, and the undamaged portions show that the letters were very evenly spaced, eight to a line except under the curve at the top, where only six signs were cut. Thus the inscription consisted, when new, of fifty-four letters, but a score of these are now missing. At the end of the second line is the sequence 'M-Sh.' Only one line is complete. Of the last line, Butin can find only one sign, Cowley thinks he can make out three, but Grimme claims to discover seven!

One would conclude that any translation made from such a fragment would be incomplete and conjectural, yet it is on this inscription that Grimme bases his most sensational theories, offering translations to the effect that the writer was Moses, the (foster) son of Hatshepsut, who had drawn him from the Nile, and advanced him to high honours.

To get such translations Grimme has to perform some remarkable *tours de force*. The first line supplied him with sixteen letters, where no one else saw more than six. He afterwards reduced the number to ten. Though where the inscription is well preserved, the letters are evenly spaced, as we have already said, yet in the damaged parts, according to Grimme, the letters were jammed together in a most unaccountable fashion! The same treatment is meted out by him to other inscriptions in the series.

What is the value of these inscriptions? It is not that they furnish us with the handwriting of Moses, or supply us with any of those amazing discoveries beloved of the popular Press. They are probably the work of the nineteenth century B.C. and therefore date from half a millennium before the time of Moses. Their value lies in the light that they throw on the origin of our alphabet. We are all aware that it is Latin derived in turn from the Greek, which itself had developed from the Phoenician. For long the question has been posed as to where we should look for its ultimate origin. In 1915, Sethe, on purely deductive grounds, arrived at the conclusion that this ultimate origin was to be found in Egypt. At the same time, Gardiner, working on the Sinaitic script, and in complete independence of Sethe's studies, arrived at the same conclusion. We can therefore now draw up in brief the story of our alphabet. It began with the work of the Egyptians in the Pyramid Age. This led to the invention of the Sinaitic script a millennium later by the Semites of Serâbît. Division caused two lines of development from this, one in the south giving rise to the Southern Semitic scripts. The other passed to the north. The cuneiform alphabetic script discovered in 1929 at Ras Shamra, in North Syria, is the same script as modified a few centuries later by the conditions of writing with a stylus on clay. The Phoenician, Gezer, Samaritan, Moabite, and Siloam scripts are further developments, and from the Phoenician, as we have said, comes the Greek and the Latin alphabet which we know so well.

Such are the results up to date of the study of the Sinaitic Inscriptions. The work is not yet finished. Further study, and let us hope, further discoveries of inscriptions, will doubtless throw light on points which are at present obscure.

HAROLD GARNER.

HUMANISM AND THE ART OF LIVING

SAMUEL BUTLER (of *Erewhon*, not *Hudibras*) once remarked that the art of living is like learning to play an instrument and playing a solo before an audience at the same time. That was the result of his observation of individual life in the nineteenth century (1825-1902), and he would have drawn the same conclusion on a wider scale if he lived to-day. It is not only true of men but of nations, and of the international community, that we are witnessing the most extraordinary experiments in the art of living, and artists and audience alike are incurring the most acute discomfort and in some cases intolerable pain. At least it is obvious that for the art of living we need to learn as quickly and thoroughly as possible the principles on which harmonious activity can be based, and to find teachers who can guide us in acquiring the technique that will enable us to enjoy and to convey to others the quality of inspiration which life should hold. If, as *Punch* said, the art of living depends on the liver, it depends even more on the philosophy of life which we hold.

Among the voices which claim to tell us how to live in the twentieth century, the voice of humanism is one which is readily heard by those who represent the modern mood. Last century, in England and America at least, the great fight of humanity was for freedom, for liberty of conscience and speech, for moral and religious emancipation, for the rights of women to a place in the social and economic and political order, and above all for the education of childhood and youth in spontaneity and individual liberty. To a remarkable extent this fight has been won. We are free to-day, in spite of prolonged industrial depression, to think and speak as we like, to worship God as we please or not at all, to frame within certain limits our own moral standards, to amuse ourselves all day or in leisure hours in an extraordinary variety of ways. Printing has given us newspapers

and books, the films have provided dramatic interest of every type at a price within the reach of all, while broadcasting has brought its programmes from all over the world into the homes of millions here in England. Literally, we can tune in to almost any music we choose to dance to in this modern world, and our lives reflect the use we have made of this freedom.

The nineteenth century presented us with the gift of liberty, democracy, individual freedom to direct our own lives, but it also left us a problem vaster and more serious than that of achieving liberty. Now that we are free to choose our way of living, how shall we prevent the emancipated modern world from exercising its newly-acquired liberty in a destructive, wasteful, or ignoble fashion? The task we are confronted with is that of persuading a race of beings who are to a new and exceptional degree free from external restraint to impose some sort of voluntary restraint upon themselves. Mr. Lawrence Hyde, who is one of the critical exponents of humanism, points out that 'Everybody is able to-day "to do as he likes," but what he likes to do is only too frequently something ugly, crude, banal, or positively subversive. The finer values of civilization are slowly but surely being destroyed. A great wave of vulgarization is sweeping over the world. Everything tends to be dragged down to the level on which it is comprehensible or emotionally satisfying to the man who has neither purified his perceptions, disciplined his will, nor cultivated his mind. From one point of view at least the fruit of Liberalism is libertinism.'¹

It is this problem with which humanism sets itself to deal. The modern humanist believes that the disorders in which we are at present so disastrously implicated will never be resolved until men again come to realize and express the fact of their distinctive humanity. And this is equivalent to saying that the real problem before us is that of achieving disciplined personality. We must control ourselves before we

¹ *The Prospects of Humanism*, pp. 9-10.

can effectively control our environment. At the moment this seems to be the primary question in all discussion of the art of living, and it is essential that we should know what answer humanism has to give, and that we should compare that answer with that of its only alternative. For there is at present no middle way between humanism and Christian theism.

The idea of a religion of humanity has been familiar since the days of Comte, but the whole story of the word humanism goes back to the Renaissance, and it is even suggested that the influence of Greek and Roman thought on Christian theology can be described as humanism. It is, however, to the Renaissance that we owe the beginnings of what we now know as humanism, and there is both kinship and difference between sixteenth-century and twentieth-century thought. The difference between the two may be stated briefly. The Renaissance thinkers looked for illumination to the past in classical antiquity; the modern humanist looks forward to the future discoveries of psychology and the social sciences. Early humanism was indifferent or hostile to natural science, which was at that time making momentous advances under Copernicus and Galileo; to-day, humanism has assimilated the sciences as part of its creed, reserving a kind of hinterland of human values and ideals as alone being outside the scope of scientific categories. Yet there are two points at which Renaissance humanism and modern humanism are vitally at one: they both have a concern for making human life fuller and happier, not in the world to come, but here and now in the work-a-day world; and they have an abiding faith in the dignity of man, the goodness of human nature, and the trustworthiness of human reason and conscience. How varied are the forms in which these convictions may be expressed can best be seen by comparing the Christian humanism of Erasmus with the pagan humanism of Rabelais, or by noting the kinship of Chaucer with Petrarch, or again by seeing how two great English humanists interpreted the

whole movement. John Colet came back from Italy with a hatred of the whole scholastic routine of the medieval Church and with an equal scorn for Neo-pagan Humanism. His friend, Sir Thomas More, combined the new culture with the fervent faith of a Christian, and in his *Utopia* set forth the finer ideals both of humanism and of the Renaissance itself.

If the sixteenth century was the age of humanism, the seventeenth was the age of naturalism. In the Renaissance period, science was regarded as a somewhat fruitless form of curiosity by those who were engaged above all in promoting human happiness. The next century completely reversed this judgement. It is not for nothing that Whitehead calls the seventeenth century the Century of Genius. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote* were published in the same year (1605), as though the epoch would introduce itself with a forward and a backward glance. If we limit our list of names to twelve, it will suffice to indicate the creative work of the period: Francis Bacon, Harvey, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Pascal, Huygens, Boyle, Newton, Locke, Spinoza, and Leibnitz. The humanists were overwhelmed by the vastness of the universe revealed by natural science. 'The silence of these infinite spaces frightens me!' cried Pascal. And in his famous passage on the 'two infinities' (revealed by the telescope and the microscope), he makes us feel the sense of bafflement and futility which beset the men of his generation as they thought of man's precarious position, lost between the infinitely great and the infinitely small. Yet Pascal had the clue to a solution of the problem when he said that man is greater than the universe which crushes him, since he knows that he is being crushed.

Naturalism humbles man; humanism exalts him. It was the task of the next century to reconcile these contradictories. The eighteenth century was the age of reason, of common-sense philosophy, hatred of enthusiasm, of superstition, of Gothic architecture and dim perspectives. Upstanding,

healthy, manly reason, this was the great virtue. Voltaire hated injustice, hated cruelty and senseless repression, and he hated hocus-pocus; and when he saw them he knew them. Dismissing cant and hypocrisy, shunning evangelical or Catholic extravagance, the men of that age aimed at the scientific control of human environment, and lived by the creed of humanitarianism. We are indebted to their reason, although Whitehead rightly describes it as a one-eyed reason. They left out of their humanitarian philosophy all that the nineteenth century tried to put in. They knew how a mechanical explanation of all the processes of Nature had hardened into a dogma of science; and the idea of scientific progress was the centre around which all their humanitarianism revolved. They failed to account for all the elements which make up the psychological experiences of mankind; they had little to say of the faith and hope and love by which men live, and they had no concept of the order of Nature or of the organic unity in which alone all things subsist.

Naturalism as the creed of the age of reason broke down with dramatic suddenness before the combined influence of the French Revolution and the philosophy of Kant, and it was succeeded by romanticism in literature and philosophy. Disintegration and disaster had been the result of the rationalistic dreams of Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau, and their attempt to create a new social order and a new religion on a basis of abstract reason was so conspicuous a failure that their successors voted for anything but reason as the guide of life. The work of Immanuel Kant told in the same direction because it tended to disparage the powers of human reason in the interests of moral faith. At the same time, by his insistence on the creative activity of the human mind, he gave man once more a central place in the universe, and paved the way for the romantic idealism of Hegel and Fichte, described by George Santayana as Absolute Egotism in German Philosophy. This romanticism ended abruptly about the middle of the nineteenth century, and

gave way to positivism and agnosticism. Modern humanism is the direct descendent of these movements of thought, but it has not yet decided its attitude to naturalism, and is thus even yet divided against itself.

Last century the protagonists of humanism were Dr. F. C. S. Schiller and William James. Pragmatism, which was the term preferred by James, was really a theory of knowledge (the theory that a belief is true if it works, and that all knowledge can be tested by its human value), but humanism is a more general philosophic attitude. In the sense in which the word was used by James and Schiller, humanism made human experience the prime concern of all our philosophic thinking. It put man in the centre of the universe, and regarded all science and literature as concerned with human life and its purposes. There is something of defiance in this attitude, and humanism was intended to oppose itself to naturalism and any form of Absolute philosophy. The maxim of Protagoras that 'man is the measure of all things,' was a kind of slogan for these nineteenth-century humanists, but they refused to be identified with scepticism, and kept an open, if critical mind, with reference to both metaphysics and religion.

I. HUMANISM AND TRUTH

The new humanism of this generation is much more uncompromising and dogmatic. It rejects the supernatural and combines naturalism in metaphysics with pure humanism in ethics. Curiously enough, there is a Humanist Church, and a *Humanist Pulpit* published in a series of volumes, and a standard volume entitled *Humanist Sermons*. American humanism of this type is closely related to Unitarianism and has been adopted by several Unitarian Churches. The major tenets of the movement have been set out by one of the founders, Dr. John H. Dietrich: (1) the conviction that man, as the highest product of the creative process, with nothing above him or beyond him but his own ideals, is 'an end in himself' and 'not a mere means for carrying out the purposes

of a superior being'; (2) faith in the possibility of improving human life; (3) belief in the essential unity of mankind, and the necessity of bringing men to a consciousness of this unity; (4) faith in man—belief that the power to realize these great ideals lies in man himself, and not in any friendly Providence or miracle-working God.¹ The analogy between this confession of faith and the positivism of Auguste Comte is at once apparent, as is also its relation to the Ethical Culture Movement associated with the names of Felix Adler and Stanton Coit. But the new humanists would object to Adler's idea of an Eternal Spiritual Society, and to Coit's attempt to retain the words of God and Prayer.

Our estimate of the real significance of this movement must take into account the fact that it is a revolt against the emotional revival of the Jonathan Edwards type, and against the doctrines associated with that revival: the total depravity of human nature and the absolute sovereignty of God. It was a perverted interpretation of these doctrines (which contain an element of salutary truth), together with a crop of queer sects, flooding America with a new superstition masquerading in semi-scientific jargon, which provided the occasion for the humanist reaction. From this point of view, humanism is a healthy and cleansing influence. On the other hand, it must be remembered that if we cannot live by bread alone, we certainly cannot live by disinfectants alone. It is an achievement to have cleared the ground of morbid growths and poisonous weeds, but unless good wheat is sown they will spring up again. What has humanism to offer the hungering spirit of man? What guidance can it give in the difficult business of directing personal life and reconstructing the social order?

Already the humanist programme, with its fine social idealism, is proving inadequate even for its own creators.

¹ *Humanist Sermons*, pp. 102–113, quoted by Horton, W. M., *Theism and the Modern Mood*, p. 45.

A number of those who contributed to the volume of *Humanist Sermons* have recanted, and have discovered their need of God. Mr. Irving Babbitt, in *Rousseau and Romanticism*, insists that 'though religion can get along without humanism, humanism cannot get along without religion' (p. 379). Significant also is the attitude of the veteran literary humanist, Mr. Paul Elmer More, who asked (in an article in the *American Bookman* for March, 1930), 'Will not the humanist, unless he adds to his creed the faith and hope of religion, find himself at the last, despite his protests, dragged back into the camp of the naturalists?' The principal exponent of the humanism of Irving Babbitt for English readers, Mr. T. S. Eliot, who approaches the subject as a poet and literary critic with philosophic leanings, reveals his later Anglo-Catholic faith in *Murder in the Cathedral*. Yet Mr. More¹ and Mr. Eliot speak of religion always in obscure and vague terms, and Mr. Lippmann talks of 'high religion,' while Mr. Lawrence Hyde says, a little defiantly, 'the religion of the Churches is a dead religion; on that point one must remain firm.' (*The Prospects of Humanism*, p. 168.)

Humanism hovers between two worlds, and is at home in neither. Naturalism, on the one hand, leaves man at the mercy of blind and indifferent forces, while theism, or supernaturalism on the other, has implications of spiritual communion and worship which the humanist feels it is beneath his dignity to accept. This dilemma is parallel to the absolute cleavage between the realm of fact and the realm of value which underlies the whole philosophy of humanism. Mr. Bertrand Russell states the issue with his usual logical clarity: 'In the philosophy of Nature, we are subordinated to Nature, the outcome of natural laws, and their victims in the long run. . . . But in the philosophy of value the situation is reversed. . . . It is we who create value, and our desires which confer value. In this realm we are kings, and we debase

¹ It should be said that in Mr. More's latest work he approaches very near to the Chalcedonian Symbol (A.D. 451).

our kingship if we bow down to Nature.'¹ Victims in the realm of fact; kings in the realm of value! This fundamental dualism of man and Nature, fact and value, is the source of the tantalizing paradoxes and contradictions with which humanism is beset. At one time Mr. Russell is on the point of unyielding despair; at another he is one of the new lords of all creation. A philosophy with such wildly contradictory conclusions is hardly likely to be sound in its central principles. Either it must hold to a consistent naturalism, which will destroy its faith in man; or it must affirm the objective reality of human values, truth, beauty and goodness, which can only be done on the basis of spiritual theism.

It is thus clear that when humanism offers to guide us in the art of living by the light of rational principles, we are left in confusion, because humanistic vision is one-eyed: it sees life with the discriminating intellect, but not with the understanding heart. Whereas we draw near to the more central aspects of reality when the heart becomes involved in the process of apprehending truth. And it is these central, interior elements in reality that determine the character of the remainder. The cultivated intellectuals who test everything by the acids of modernity fall short of that spiritual integration of character which religion always claims as the gateway of knowledge. An inner and painful process of purification is needful, and is the sole condition on which clarity of vision is obtained. This is the discipline implied in the great word, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.'

Humanism exhorts us, in the intellectual world of Mr. Russell, to devote ourselves to the purposes which appeal to the purely rationalistic mind. Mr. J. C. Powys seductively displays the impossibly Pagan faith of the sensationalist; while Mr. Clive Bell commends an even less attractive order of sensationalism. The brilliant talents of Mr. Wyndham

¹ *What I believe*. See also Horton, *op. cit.*, p. 49. for criticism of Mr. Russell's philosophy.

Lewis are wasted in misdirected satire. An intolerably narrow ethical philosophy is preached by Mr. Irving Babbitt. An almost fanatical exaltation of the significance of poetical experience is the gospel of Mr. Middleton Murry.¹ Finally, Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch, in *The Modern Temper*, discovers science as a false Messiah, and from the disillusionment of the laboratory proceeds to reduce human values and ideals to the same level of reality as that of our childhood's world of toys and sugar-plums, with Santa Claus as presiding genius. The logical issue of humanism is either the complete disillusionment and pessimism of Mr. Krutch, or the movement of the mind towards theism which is the mark of the most recent tendencies, exemplified by Professor Ames of Chicago. Our twentieth-century experimentalism has already taken us beyond positivism and humanism, and is emphasizing the validity of certain truths which were first enunciated two thousand years ago. The path of scepticism, as Berkeley reminds us in a famous passage, pursued to its end, leads us back to orthodoxy.

II. HUMANISM AND GOODNESS

Shall we fare better when we turn to humanism for guidance in matters of conduct? If it cannot lead us to truth, can it lead us to goodness? Mr. Babbitt is the most distinguished interpreter of humanistic ethics, and he is genuinely concerned to achieve disciplined personality by means of the potencies of human nature. At the heart of Mr. Babbitt's ethical theory is the classical conception of man as a being at war with himself. The ethical will finds itself in continual conflict with the lower nature, which is a slave to limitless expansive desires. The discipline which the individual imposes upon his baser propensities consists of the inner check, the voice so well described by Socrates, by obedience to which he achieves moderation, sobriety and balance. Mr. Babbitt goes further

¹ For a critical estimate on these lines, see Hyde, L., *op. cit.*, p. 52, and *passim*.

than the classical ethic when he exalts the ethical will to the first place, and assigns an important function to the imagination. Moreover, certain standards are provided for us which embody the wisdom attained by men in the past, and by these a man can evaluate his own experience. But the principle of selection by which the 'best minds' throughout the ages are collected together is left far from clear; and as Mr. Eliot justly points out: 'Boil down Horace, the Elgin Marbles, St. Francis and Goethe, and the result will be pretty thin soup.' The whole history of man's attempts to deal with the moral problem reveals the utter inadequacy of this ethic of humanism.

Mr. Babbitt himself admits that at the heart of genuine Christianity are certain truths which have already saved Western civilization and, judiciously employed, may save it again. But instead of employing them, especially the doctrine of grace, to which he directly refers, he says that what is needed just now is a revival of the ethical will on the secular level . . . the humanist would not go beyond the disciplining of the 'lusts' of the natural man to the law of measure. (*Democracy and Leadership*, p. 230.) How perilous this path is, Mr. Babbitt well knows, for he says that the keystone of the whole edifice of European society in its medieval form was the doctrine of grace, and he is not at all sure that European civilization can survive the collapse of that doctrine. He is in the dilemma of the individual who desires to be humble enough to discover some equivalent for grace, and at the same time is arrogant enough to deny any higher will than his own.

Ethical humanism leaves a man in the position of the boy who stood in a bucket and tried to lift himself by the handle. As soon as a man concentrates his powers on the task of perfecting himself he inevitably becomes the victim of egoism, and stultifies the whole process. Not only the traditional insight of religion, but the most valuable teachings of modern psychology go to discredit Mr. Babbitt's treatment

of the ethical problem. There is no tranquillity for the individual until the discords within his being have been resolved, his passions sublimated, or, in phraseology I prefer to use, consecrated. The self must be unified. If we are to live creatively we must undertake something more fundamental than merely checking our lower impulses. The end of the road is not repression, but transmutation. Our task is not simply to dam up the flow of passion, but to direct it into creative channels. The end of Mr. Babbitt's ethical road is merely neurosis.

By contrast with the prodigious discipline that humanism prescribes in order to achieve an inoffensive and uninteresting integrity, the Christian tradition presents a discipline which goes much farther and achieves in every generation the vital experience and ecstasy of the saint. The New Testament asserts, and the history of Christian ethics provides abundant examples, that to slay the old Adam is *ipso facto* to realize God. But the victory which creates the inner unity is itself incidental to a tremendous interior experience of Reality. 'It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure.' In this deeper experience the head and the heart are one. Nature is seen in the light of a Word that is made flesh, and it is neither feared nor hated any more. All the world is new for the man in Christ. Instead of the relatively insipid serenity of humanism, there is positive exhilaration and delight. For the life of the spirit is essentially one of inner joy.

III. HUMANISM AND BEAUTY

For the art of living, humanism entails reliance upon the operation of three cultural agencies: rational, ethical, and aesthetic respectively. If somehow or other people can be induced to exercise their reason, to respect the moral law, and to respond to the elevating influence of art, then we may perhaps one day enjoy the privilege of living in a harmonious and stable type of society. If they cannot be so induced,

then we are lost. We have not fared so well in our search for truth and goodness under the guidance of the humanist. How shall we fare in our quest of beauty in the realm of art and culture?

You will not imagine that I am so misguided as to attempt to depreciate the significance of culture. To be uncultivated is simply to be spiritually impoverished. Yet the sophisticated minority need seriously to be warned against over-valuing the fruits of cultivation. It is salutary that we should remind ourselves that it is upon the deep moral foundations of life that the whole stability of society depends. Refining influences can only come into play when the basic virtues have found expression. Until men have learned to be industrious, truthful, temperate, and unselfish in their daily lives, the cultivation of the liberal arts becomes a matter of impossibility. 'The musician can only display his art when the piano manufacturers, and perhaps Stradivarius, together with the electricians, the cleaners, and the management have already done what is required of them. Ideally, of course, the same principle should apply in the sphere of individual life. First of all, the dull, obvious, bourgeois virtues, and then only afterwards the expression of more subtle states of consciousness in speech, dress, architecture, and music. That is why the great spiritual teachers have always been so conspicuously silent on the subject of art. They were concerned with the radical issues, with the problem of salvation rather than with that of civilization, and they were well enough aware that when the first is secured "all the rest shall be added unto you".'¹

The curse of our generation, and the humanists are by no means exempt from it, is that we have a breed of Gentiles who seek first everything else except a sound moral foundation for life. Aesthetic feeling, intellectual subtlety, delicacy of perception, all are perfectly compatible with a radically vicious nature. Wainwright was a poisoner, but it did not

¹ Summarized from Hyde, L., *op. cit.* pp. 116-117.

preclude him from having exquisite taste and sensibility. There are those who have ceased to look upwards to God as the source of inspiration and power, and have not attained a moral perspective which includes the verdict of experience that a graceless integrity is preferable to a decorative depravity.

The peril of humanistic culture is that it is passive instead of active, capable of appreciation but not of creation. We have a cultivated generation who are sensitive enough to read Ibsen or Aldous Huxley, and to listen with discrimination to Ravel, but whose culture never reaches the point of provoking them to the good works by which alone society can continue to exist. And, more seriously still, they take the work of the great Christian artists, poets, painters and musicians, and accept all these have to give except the faith by which their creative work was done. Mr. Middleton Murry sees God as an imaginative fiction, and he desires that men should seek organic unity through knowledge of the World-Organism; but God does not exist. Goethe was a profound spirit, according to Mr. Murry, though his references to Almighty God indicate that he was not properly disintoxicated of the Transcendental. Coleridge had a deep insight into the more fundamental problems of consciousness, though he had not emancipated himself from the error of theism. Jesus was a great prophet, up to the point at which he expressed his belief in the existence of a Heavenly Father. Surely Mr. Hyde is right when he says that this is perilously near to intellectual dishonesty. The Jesus, the Goethe, the Coleridge who simply exist to confirm Mr. Murry's metabiological ideas are nothing else but arbitrary abstractions unrelated to reality. That humanism should accept with passive and patronizing appreciation the work of creative Christian imagination, while denying the originating centre from which it springs is a quite unjustifiable proceeding. It is not true that supernatural religion is the refuge of those who cannot rest in things natural. The whole weight of our deeper human experience is on the other side of the scale.

When we have examined the agencies of spiritual culture which are relied upon by humanism, and found that they fail us in all three realms, rational, ethical and aesthetic, we are not surprised that representative humanists such as Professor Ames in America and Mr. T. S. Eliot in England, should be turning to Christian faith to solve the problems which pure humanism leaves unsolved. Against a background of intellectual and spiritual chaos, confounded instead of clarified by humanism, Christianity stands out, accepting the salutary qualities in humanism, but crying its ancient gospel: civilization and all the human values will be saved, not by an earth-bound giant, but by a creative and redeeming God. Religious regeneration is the direct road to intellectual illumination, and the path of the soul in communion with God is the path of that disciplined experience which alone provides a sound philosophy of life.

SYDNEY G. DIMOND.

CLAUDIUS OF TURIN

THE city of Turin has much interest for the student of history. The curiously regular formation of the city with its parallel streets crossing at right angles reveals the framework of the ancient Roman city, and Roman remains can still be traced in the centre. Here and there are Waldensian churches, and from the streets of the city can be seen, at not a great distance, the snow-capped peaks of the Alps in the valleys of which the Waldensians took refuge in times of bitter persecution. In the ninth century Turin was the sphere of reforming activities remarkably resembling, in some of its manifestations, later Protestantism, and there remains the unanswered question, Did the influence of Claudius, the bishop in the ninth century, prepare the ground for the reception of Waldensian witness in the twelfth century, and is there some real connexion between the two revivals of primitive Christianity?

Claudius was born in 779 in Spain, and his name suggests he may have traced his descent to some ancient Roman family resident in Spain. We are told he became the pupil of Felix, Bishop of Urgel, who was a teacher of the Adoptian heresy, concerning the Person of Christ. But even if this were so there is no trace of any such heresy in the extant writings of Claudius.

He came to Aquitaine and fell under the influence of the Augustinian school of thought at Lyons, later represented by Bishop Agobard and the deacon Florus. He achieved a reputation as a Biblical student and a commentator on both the Old and New Testaments, a theologian and a preacher, and a strong opponent of all forms of superstition, magic and idolatry and all materialism in the life of the Church. With this reputation he was appointed by Emperor Louis to the bishopric of Turin and there he upheld a more spiritual conception of religion and combated what he

regarded as departures from primitive Christianity. He used his mandate without compromise or mercy. He removed and destroyed images, paintings, relics from the churches, 'sordid, mean, tawdry things' as they often were. His polemic roused opposition and his case was discussed at a Council where his attitude was criticized. His apology, addressed to an old friend, Abbot Theodemir, was answered by Dungal, an Irish monk, and later by Jonas of Orleans. The latter was apparently instructed by the Council to frame a reply, but the actual criticism was not issued till after the death of Claudius, who continued in his diocese and never repudiated his opinions. He must have enjoyed the support of the Emperor Louis and his son Lothaire, for he not only resisted the judgement of the Council, which he called a 'Council of Asses,' but he retained his bishopric till his death in 839.

The Apology of Claudius is only known to us by the lengthy verbatim quotations found in Dungal and Jonas of Orleans, but these quotations warrant us in asserting that he was assuredly a Protestant in the Dark Ages, and his teaching was really an attempted return to the primitive Christianity of the Bible and the Early Fathers.

He protested his orthodoxy and denied that he was either a heretic or schismatic. He claimed to be concerned for the unity of the Church and its pure doctrine. But he resisted certain tendencies which in his opinion were opposed to the true life of the Church, its unity and its peace. In his writings we find these three heresies, Pelagianism, Arianism, Manichaeism, definitely rejected by name, and everything seems to prove that he held the full Trinitarian view of the orthodox creeds. He believed in the humanity of Jesus, but also in the reality of the Incarnation. Jesus was the only begotten Son of the Father, God in the Flesh. He believed in the Fall of Man, the doctrine of original sin, the need of divine grace to initiate as well as to achieve salvation, and the atoning work of Jesus on the Cross.

1. Now the Protestantism of Claudius appears in various ways. First, his reliance on the Bible; his commentaries cover a large part both of the Old and the New Testament. They consist largely in quotation from the Fathers, specially from Augustine. But it is clear that to him the Bible is the final standard for doctrine and for ethics. He has no science of Biblical interpretation, and like Origen he solves difficulties, specially in the Old Testament, by free and exaggerated use of allegory. He makes surprising discoveries of great doctrines in incidents recorded in the Book of Kings, e.g., the washing of Naaman. And the life of David is to him also significant for doctrine. All this is strained, artificial and even ludicrous, but it clearly shows that the Bible is his standard and no Protestant fundamentalist could place greater value on the Bible than Claudius. It was to him the word of God. He distinguished between the letter and the spirit, but in the Bible he finds the final word for all time.

2. Secondly, we note his independent judgement. He does not fail in reverence for Mother Church, but in the last instance he will only accept what is in accordance with the Bible and his own interpretation of the contents. A Church Council which condemned him is spoken of as a 'Council of Asses.' Jonas of Orleans complains that in proud superiority he places his private judgement against the judgement of the Church, as expressed in tradition, ecclesiastical customs, and the decisions of councils. This is in fact the very argument used against the Protestant witness throughout Church history, and was used to overwhelm Irish monks of Iona at Whitby, and Luther at Worms. Claudius does, as a matter of fact, bring all the available evidence to the bar of his own reason and conscience, and judges by the right of private judgement.

3. The third; his doctrine of salvation, shows the evangelical attitude. Baptism is meaningless, unless associated with the putting on of Christ by faith in Him. It is the grace of God which alone can save. The whole legal and ceremonial

system must be strictly subordinate to the Grace of God revealed in and through Jesus Christ. Salvation is, in a true Pauline sense, deliverance from bondage to fear and sin. We are justified by faith from the power and guilt of sin, from the tyranny of the law and from death regarded as the result of sin. This faith does not stand alone. It is a faith which works by love. It is co-operation with the mind of Christ. To believe means to be clothed upon with Christ, and to find new life in Him. Thus the distinction between faith and works is transcended by a conception of faith as a principle which works by love, and the final test of the Christian life with Claudius as with Paul is, therefore, Love. This salvation rests upon the work of Christ who offered sacrifice to the Father for us, who bore, though Himself sinless, the penalty of our sin, and was wholly obedient to the Will of God. Salvation is the act of God, and is a work of grace. No man can be saved or even take the first step to salvation unless Divine Grace intervenes. Thus there is no place for human merit or pride.

4. Fourthly, note further the ethical intensity of the man, and this can be illustrated in many ways. Thus the bearing of the Cross, in discipline and sacrifice, must take the place of worshipping the wood of which the Cross was made. No reliance on saints and mediators can be substituted for one's own personal character. We must possess the faith, justice and truth of these saints if we are to benefit from their example. He goes further and strikes the very foundation of sacerdotal prestige and privilege and in particular at the pretensions of the Roman Papacy when he says in effect, 'There can be no apostolic succession without apostolic living. Apostolic functions for their validity depend on the faithful fulfilment of apostolic duties, and thus the immoral, evil-living priest ceases to be a priest and loses all his priestly prerogatives. It is character which matters, not orders or functions. Add to this the clear understanding of ethical standards. Love to God must come first, then love to neigh-

bour as oneself, and then love to one's enemies. In this love there is the fulfilment of the whole law and this love springs out of faith in the love of God. Rules, forms and ritual fall into comparative significance in comparison with the inwardness of the life of faith and love, "Man's response to the Divine Grace."

5. The spirituality of Claudius is also evident. Behind his fierce attacks on images, paintings and the wood of the Cross there lies an immense conception of the inwardness of all true religion. He has no place for the subtle distinctions drawn by Jonas and Dungal in their efforts to preserve the images without countenancing idolatry. These writers may declare, as representatives of the Carolingian compromise, that images are venerated for the sake of instruction, and the keeping in memory good men, and that this worship is different from the worship due to God which includes offerings and sacrifice. Claudius saw, however, whatever theologians might say, the popular mind would not, and could not make any such distinction. He saw that the presence of the image or relic in the Church would mean for practical purposes idolatry, and the history of medieval Christianity proves that he was right. He refused to compromise on this issue. To worship images is both blasphemy and idolatry. To trust to the mediation of saints is foolish because God alone can save, to go on pilgrimages is unnecessary because God is not confined to localities. He would remove these images because they drew the mind away from the unseen world in which God lived. The Creator, not the created, must have all the worship and after all, he would say, the image was a thing of human workmanship.

Claudius felt also that this image worship did despite to the true value of human personality. 'Why do you incline and humble yourselves to false images and bow your bodies, which God made erect, before inept images and earthly figments? Other animals look earthwards, but thy face is raised towards God. Thither look, raise your eyes, seek

God alone, so shalt thou have no need of earthly things.' So the spirit of God and the spirit of man both cry out against this degrading idolatry, and witness to the deep spiritual relationship which really matters. So in regard to the worship of the wood of the Cross. For he points out, when superstitious people say, 'We honour the Cross, painted and carved because of the memory of the Saviour' they are really taking pleasure in that which pleased the Jews and pagans who did not believe in the resurrection, viz., the shame of His death whilst forgetting the apostolic word that though we have known Him after the flesh now we know Him so no more. Claudius is here reminding us that we do not worship One who died in shame and sorrow only but One who rose again, joyful and triumphant. The Cross without the Resurrection has no Gospel to offer the World. If we worship a Cross why not worship the virgins, for He was born of a virgin, why not an ass because He rode on an ass? These words wounded many, and the argument is rather coarsely stated, yet there is sense in these vital words. The law of association can be carried to absurd lengths. Claudius means to say that the wood of the Cross has been adored instead of the One who died on the Cross. It is the person, not the thing, which matters here. He who died and rose again rather than the Cross on which He died. He does not despise the work of the Saviour on the Cross, but he violently resents the worship of material things, however sacred, by association, and he does passionately believe that the victorious Risen Christ known in a spiritual experience is the One to worship. If the language of Claudius is thought to be immoderate, his arguments harsh or his temper intolerant, we must never forget he was resisting the all too manifest tendency of the Church to turn from spiritual fact to material imagery, from religion as a spiritual and personal relationship between God and Man, to a coarse reliance on material forms. Jonas and Dungall could find fault with the grammar and the temper, but they never faced the real issue, which

was that bits of wood and stone were being substituted for the worship of God in spirit and truth. The spirituality of Claudius was also seen in his allegorical method of Bible study, but we see it best when, like another, George Fox, he tells us that the true temple is not built of stone or wood but of human lives in fellowship with God, when he tells us that baptism without faith has no virtue, and when, in his treatment of the Lord's Supper, he does not even hint at any change of substance in the elements, but treats this solemn service as having a spiritual and figurative significance.

6. Claudius was a preacher and throughout, like the Apostle Paul, he emphasized the preaching of the Gospel as the great necessity. There was a Gospel to preach, and he felt his call to preach it. He belonged to the prophetic ministry and preached the Gospel of the Grace of God which justifies those who believe with the faith that works by Love. He saw the vision of the City of God, identified it with the reign of Christ in the Kingdom of God. It included all types, all races and conditions, made one in the unity of faith, in Christ. The slave may remain in outward condition a slave, but in the faith of Christ he is a brother, and has a greater freedom than the so-called free man who has no faith. So he lived and witnessed. It seemed as if these tendencies which he resisted were too strong and his ministry might seem to be a failure. Yet it is surely not altogether an accident or a coincidence that the first beginnings of the Reformation in the medieval Church were discovered in those districts where centuries before Claudius of Turin had presented the Gospel to the people, a world of grace and love to a world of sinners, and a gospel intensely ethical, and yet profoundly spiritual and redemptive.

DOUGLAS W. LOWIS.

ANCIENT AND MODERN

MY title does not refer to the famous hymn-book, but to the fact that, in the deepest sense, there is nothing new under the sun. I have been moved to this profoundly original reflection by a chance re-communing, in a leisure hour, with the 'dear poet of the Sabine farm.'

Horace, 'as every schoolboy knows,' died eight years before the birth of Jesus. He was born in 65 B.C., at Venusia, a Roman colony on the Appian Way, that led from Rome itself to Brundisium and so to Greece. His father—possibly a Greek—had been a slave, but had been freed for good conduct by his master. He was a self-educated man of his day, and, not satisfied with giving his son what personal tuition he could, he sent him, at great sacrifice, to Athens, then the university of the world. While Horace was there, Julius Caesar was assassinated at Rome, and the civil war began which was to end the Republic and to establish the Empire. Horace joined the Republican forces, and became the equivalent of our 'colonel.' But neither physique nor inclination fitted him for soldiering, and after the battle of Philippi, where the Republican hopes were finally crushed, he made his flight, which he has described with characteristic humour and self-criticism. He now took up free-lance writing at Rome, where verses were in demand by publishers. In 38 B.C. he met the powerful Maecenas, who became his patron and presented him with a little estate among the Sabine hills, not far from the Tiber.

There, near a spring that was 'good for head troubles and stomach troubles,' and gazing down upon a shady valley—'not so shady, however, but that the rising sun can shine on its right slope, and the setting sun warm its left'—the fastidious bachelor enjoyed what he most craved: simple comfort, communion with Nature, and secure leisure for the mind:

Well, yet at little cost, he lives who shows
No silver on his board to outshine his sire's;
His easy sleep nor sordid terror knows,
Nor mean desires.

Why, when so brief our day, shoot we so wild
At marks so many? Why quit home to find
Lands warmed by other suns? Who, self-exiled,
Leaves self behind?

His days of travel were over. True, he sometimes rode his bob-tailed mule to the pleasant watering-place of Tarentum. He made also occasional visits to Rome. When staying there, he started his day at ten, when he would take a walk or read or 'scribble some lines.' After brushing himself up, he would go, as the sun grew hotter, to the bath, taking 'good care to steer clear of the Campus Martius and its tennis-courts.' There followed lunch—'just enough to stay the stomach'—and the afternoon siesta in some private nook. Then, having bought his salad in the market and strolled round the Circus to watch the quacks and hear the fortune-tellers, he would dawdle home to his 'frugal meal of leeks and pulse and pancakes.' And so to bed, with no troubling thoughts of 'early rising and an appointment at the courts.'

Excursions to Rome, however, only punctuated the tranquil round in his Sabine hermitage, amid his sloes and ruddy cornels, his oaks and ilexes. 'That's the life,' he said, 'of a man who knows not the worries and burdens of ambition; and I am well content with it; for I know that it will give me more happiness than I could ever get out of the fact (supposing it were a fact) that my father was a magistrate.'

Even so, he was not without his troubles. His spleen rises as he contemplates the decay of former virtues and manners:

The young lord now, how high soe'er his race,
Knows not with easy seat to ride;
He fears to hunt; gambles with better grace.

At the Greek hoop he'll challenge you,
 Or dice, though these no Roman laws allow.
 His sire meanwhile, to rogue-craft true,
 Cheats partner, ay, guest-friend, no matter how,

And hastes to enrich a worthless heir.
 For, with his growing wealth insatiate still,
 Ever a gap he thinks shows bare,
 Which one small profit more is like to fill.

The young men were degenerate, effeminate; and as for the modern girl, Horace bristled at the thought of her: though, unlike some of her twentieth-century critics, he blamed her parents more than herself:

Fertile in ill, the age infected first
 Wedlock and home and pride of honest birth;
 Fed from this spring, o'er all the earth
 Poured forth the tide accurst.

Our grown girls love to learn Ionian ways
 Of lewd suggestion in the dancer's school;
 Nay, each with evil tricks is full
 Ev'n from her callower days . . .

What have the fatal years not brought of ill?
 Our fathers' age, than their sires' not so good,
 Bred ev'n worse than they; a brood
 We'll have that's viler still.

The world, it seems, was going to the dogs. It always has been! Intensely interested in public affairs, no longer as a participator but as a detached observer, Horace indulges in many jeremiads as he watches the signs of the times: though, whenever a comparatively lucid interval seems to justify it, he falls back, in a mood which we can poignantly share, upon the solace of private joys:

Have done with patriot worries over Rome!
 Fall'n is the Dacian Cotison. The Medes
 Pursue their luckless quarrellings at home,
 And Parthia bleeds.

Bows our old foe upon the Spanish shore,
 Cantabria, tamed by fetters long delayed.
 Ev'n Scythia slacks her bow, and plots no more
 Of border raid.

Careless for once if haply here and there
Rome's hampered, take thy quiet ease with me;
And, frankly cheerful while the hour smiles fair,
Let grave things be.

Yet Horace was no more essentially a pessimist than were many others who, in every age, have announced the imminent crack of doom. He liked his little grumble; and, indeed, his forebodings about the immediate future and the local scene were often genuine enough and were justified by events. No man is truly a pessimist, however, who has a reasonably sound philosophy of life and, at the core of his being, the courage of his ideas. Whether he knows it or not, he is on the side of the angels: and Time is his ally. The prospect around may give him little cause for conscious hope; clouds of despair may darken the surface of his mind. But, deep in the heart, song refuses to be silenced. It was so with Horace.

I have no wish to idealize him. He was certainly not among the pre-Christian 'saints': had he been so, it would have been less to my present purpose to consider him. He was a man of the world, with tolerance hovering precariously over the brink of cynicism. It was not for nothing that he was ranked specially high in the eighteenth century: much of his work itself suggests that epoch. He reminds us of Lord Chesterfield or Horace Walpole, and his poetry bears obvious kinship to that of Pope. His moralizings, again, must not always be taken at their face value: he often set forth lofty platitudes in verse that was merely an 'exercise.' But all this is not the sum of the matter. If one side of his character links him to Walpole, other aspects of him—his underlying simplicity, his love of Nature, his whimsicality—make us think rather of Cowper, who greatly admired him. The comparison may be carried even further. Cowper, like Horace, was essentially a critic; but in each there was a small, yet vital, spring of original poetry and of spirituality, which neither the worldliness of the one man nor the Calvinistic theology of the other could wholly restrain. When the deepest spirit stirred in these two writers, it moved them

to utterance that rose superior to, and often contradicted, both their more conventional statements and their pessimism. Horace, contemplating a civilization destined to perish through its excesses, continued to hymn the virtues of tolerance and moderation in strains which, at their best, leave no doubt of his sincerity. His praise of the 'golden mean' may sometimes be a mere 'gesture'; but it becomes, when he is really inspired, a constructive philosophy.

Always he warns us against extravagant hopes:

What next morn's sun may bring, forbear to ask;
But count each day that comes by gift of chance
So much to the good.

Sometimes he seems to clutch, in purely materialistic manner, the passing hour:

Be wise and strain the wine! Since short at best of joy our
 meed,
Prune distant hopes. Ev'n as we speak, grim Time speeds
 swift away;
Seize now and here the hour that is, nor trust some later day!

The context, however, shows that the 'wine' is to be understood metaphorically: for Horace, though he liked his 'glass' and had (we may be sure) an eclectic palate, was no Bacchanalian. There are passages in his works, indeed, that might enable us to claim him among the early advocates of temperance. Moreover, the whole mood is but a mood: a facet of a larger and deeper vision:

Brace thee, my friend, when times are hard, to show
A mind unmoved; nor less, when fair thy state,
A sober joy.

That may be good 'policy.' But moral values are apparent even here, and, reading Horace as a whole, we realize that no mere Stoicism prompts his assertion that

. . . ills which Fate forbids to heal,
Are by endurance lighter made.

Virtue is, after all, its own reward, and joy can come truly only to those spirits that are fit to receive it. Ambition, envy, avarice: these things must be eschewed not merely

because they bring disillusionment in their train, but because they represent inherently false standards:

A bigger power is his, who can subdue
Greed in his heart, than if his rule controlled
The earth from Spain to Libya—Carthage too,
Both New and Old.

By self-indulgence fed, daily afresh
The greed-plague grows, unless from out the veins
The taint's expelled, and from the pallid flesh
The dropsy drains.

The senses must be disciplined that the soul may be free:

The more a man denies himself, Heaven gives
So much the more.

Here indeed we breathe the air of a moral universe, in which
figs are not gathered of thistles; in which 'True Worth knows
no defeat'; in which the wise man

. . . takes not nor quits power again,
As mob-mood sways and serves;

and in which evil produces its own certain consequences:

Justice may halt, yet Crime,
Whate'er his start, hath seldom time
Her vengeance to outrun.

But, again, the moral order is to be obeyed not only that
the effects of disobedience may be avoided, but because
in obedience lies the one foundation for those things that
are lovely in themselves:

Thrice happy they, ay, and beyond,
Whom an unbroken link holds close! Thrice blest,
Whom never breach of lovers' bond
Shall part in anger till their final rest!

Though Horace was in youth an ardent Republican who
witnessed the defeat of his hopes, and though he thereafter
remained (as we have seen) a stern critic of political develop-
ments, he never lost faith in the civilizing mission of Rome.
His confidence was to be justified, if not in the manner he
expected. The decline and fall of the Empire, following
upon the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of the Caesarean

régime, were imminent even as he wrote. 'Yet in a deeper sense,' as Dr. John Marshall says, 'and viewed over a larger area in space and time, the political dreams of Horace have had and still have their growing fulfilment. The centuries during which the Imperial system of Rome, viewed at its centre, might be regarded as slowly but surely sinking in corruption and disgrace, were centuries not of loss but of enormous and even incalculable gain to the outer and greater world. Order, and the instruments of order, in cities and harbours and roads, in courts of justice and chambers of government, in a universal civilized speech, a universally valid law of property and conduct: these things grew and developed and strengthened, so rooting themselves in the minds and habits of the whole world as it was then known, from India to Britain, that when the deluge of invasion of Saxons and Goths and Vandals and the rest poured over the weakened ramparts of the Empire, devastating and devouring, as it seemed, the entire Roman civilization even to Rome itself, the real and permanent effects were exactly the reverse. It was now a case of captive Rome capturing her rude conquerors.'

Horace prophesied with a greater truth than he knew. But if he were blind to the precise manner of their fulfilment, he had at least some reason for his hopes. Gentle sceptic though he often was, he had yet a solid substratum of faith in spiritual values and in the indestructibility of spiritual achievement. True, he insisted upon the ebb and flow, the perpetual action and reaction, in human affairs. But am I wrong in thinking that, in the last lines of this next quotation, he had in mind a more spiritual conception than was signified by the old pagan saying that even the gods could not recall their gifts?—

Wisely does Heaven the future's issues mask
In night of murkiest darkness,—wisely smiles,
When foolish fear poor men beguiles
Forbidden things to ask.

Learn calm to face what's pressing. For the rest,
 Life's like a river's flow, which now shall glide
 Straight on to meet the Tuscan tide:
 Now on its storm-tost breast
 Sweeps cattle, trees uprooted, loosened stones,
 Ev'n houses, all in one. A rumbling fills
 Near woods and distant echoing hills,
 While the rent river moans,
 Which erst had flowed so still. Self-centred he,
 And blest, who can make boast each coming night
 'This day I've lived.' Or dark or bright
 To-morrow's dawn may be,
 As Jove shall please. But never deed that's done
 Can ev'n high Heaven make as 'twere thing of nought;
 Or act, by Time to issue brought,
 Cancel as though 'twere none.

'There shall never be one lost good,' cried Browning, fortified by nineteen hundred years of Christian tradition. But I like to fancy that Horace, just before the Daystar arose at Bethlehem, had a glimpse of the same assurance.

Jesus did not come to destroy: or to create anew out of a void. He came to fulfil. There is both truth and falsehood in the saying that human nature does not change. History refutes the cynic's interpretation of the phrase: we have certainly 'made head, gained ground, upon the whole.' Nevertheless, the elements of human nature remain for ever the same. Christianity brought mankind the opportunity and the means for a finer adjustment, a fuller flowering, of its potential qualities; but the qualities themselves were always innate. Jesus does not ask impossible things: that may be seen by looking at a man like Horace. And, if we reverse our angle of vision, even a Horace rebukes us across the centuries. The cynics may exaggerate the failure of Christianity. Yet we have indeed fallen short of the full mark of our high calling: and it checks complacency to turn sometimes to those ancients who, not having received the promises, attained so much of faith.

GILBERT THOMAS.

The translations used in this article are those by various hands in the 'Everyman Edition' of Horace's *Complete Works*.

JAMES MACPHERSON (1736-1796)

OF bi-centenary celebrations in 1936 it is safe to say that the birth of James Macpherson will not be enthusiastically celebrated, even in Scotland. And yet the controversy which ranged round his name in the eighteenth century is not likely to be forgotten as long as men and women read Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* In Vol. III of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* this passage still stands: 'In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders whom their birth and education had peculiarly qualified for that office. See *Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, etc., of the Caledonians*, by Dr. John Macpherson, London, 1768, in 4to; and *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, by James Macpherson, Esq., London, 1773, in 4to, third edit.'

James copied much of his 'History' from the work of his fellow-clansman, and rashly characterized the notion that the Scots came originally from Ireland as 'a pious fraud which zealous missionaries such as Columba endeavoured to impose upon their converts,' which view Gibbon uncritically adopted.

James Macpherson was born at Ruthven, in the parish of Kingussie, in the shire of Inverness on October 27, 1736. His father, Andrew Macpherson, was a miserly farmer; his mother the daughter of a respectable tacksman. His early education was obtained at the district school in Badenoch, and in February, 1753, when he was sixteen years of age, he entered King's College, Aberdeen, removing later to Edinburgh University; but he took no degrees at either seat of learning. During his college days he is said to have composed four thousand poems, the earliest of which was on 'Death' in blank verse. In imitation of Pindar he attempted an ode

on 'The Arrival of the Lord Marischal in Scotland,' and in 1758 he published a poem of six cantos called 'The Highlander' which he afterwards tried to suppress.

In 1759, when travelling as a private tutor to the son of Mr. Graham of Balgowan, he met the Rev. John Home, author of the tragedy of *Douglas*, and Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, to whom he repeated Gaelic verses from memory and showed transcripts of others which he said he had taken down from the recital of old folk in the Highlands. Home asked him for translations of some of these poems, and forwarded the manuscripts to Dr. Hugh Blair, Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University, who pressed for more, and urged Macpherson to publish them. This he reluctantly did in July, 1760, under the title: *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language*, with an introduction by Dr. Blair, in which he pronounced the verses to be genuine remains of ancient Gaelic poetry.

The poems were praised by no less a craftsman than Thomas Gray, the author of the 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard,' but he doubted whether 'they were the invention of antiquity or of a modern Scotchman.'

In his own preface to the poems Macpherson hinted at the existence of a longer poem in epic form relating to the wars of Fingal, and said he thought it might possibly be collected entire. Home encouraged him to undertake the task, and, at a dinner in Edinburgh, Lord Elibank, Adam Fergusson, Robert Chalmers, and other patrons and professors of literature met to discuss ways and means of raising the necessary funds, and a subscription was started for the purpose, to which David Hume, among other men of note, contributed. Armed with letters of introduction, Macpherson made two journeys to the Highlands and Western Isles, engaging the assistance of Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie and Mr. A. Gallie, afterwards minister in Badenoch, who helped him by taking down poems as they were orally repeated

and by transcribing others from old manuscripts. He obtained a book of Gaelic poems from Iain Macpherson of Knock, in Sleat, and he showed Mr. Gallie several volumes beautifully written on vellum which he said he had had from the Clanranald family. On his second journey he obtained some more manuscripts from the Fletchers of Glenforsa. Then he took up his abode in Blackfriars' Wynd, Edinburgh, and set to work to translate what he had collected.

In 1762, on the advice of friends, he went to London, where he published the first results of his labours—two volumes entitled *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, with other lesser poems*. He dedicated it to the Marquis of Bute, who had helped him to publish it; and it was prefaced by a critical introduction by Dr. Blair. In England it met with a mixed reception, as anything so startling from over the Border was bound to do at that time, only seventeen years after the Rebellion and Culloden, but in Ireland it became popular at once.

In 1763 came *Temora, an Epic Poem in Eight Books, with other poems*, to which was appended the original Gaelic of one of its divisions. But if *Fingal* had raised doubts of authenticity, *Temora* raised still more. Hume wrote to Blair that most men of letters in London regarded both poems as 'a palpable and impudent forgery.' Blair suggested that Macpherson should ask those from whom he had procured his material for their direct testimony and publish it; but he declined to do so. When challenged later to produce the originals, he deposited certain Gaelic MSS. with his publisher, Mr. Beckett, who advertised in the *Literary Journal* of 1784, that they had been exposed for twelve months for public inspection at his shop in the Strand—but none came to see them, and the MSS. were returned to their owners.

Dr. Johnson, in his *Journey to the Western Islands*, disposed summarily, to his own satisfaction, of Macpherson's claims, and denied the existence of any Gaelic originals. 'Macpherson had only found names and stories and phrases, nay, passages

in old songs, and with them blended his own compositions, and so made what he gave to the world as translations of ancient poems.'

Macpherson, anticipating Johnson's attack, tried to prevent it before the book was published, by writing to William Strahan, Johnson's publisher; but Strahan refused to insert in the volume a slip containing a protest sent by Macpherson. When the book appeared Macpherson sent Johnson a challenge; and Johnson bought a stout oak cudgel, and replied that he would repel violence and not desist from exposing what he believed to be a cheat from any fear of the menaces of a ruffian! Boswell's references in the *Journal* are entertaining. Under the date 'Wednesday, September 22' (1773) he writes: 'His (Dr. Johnson's) notion as to the poems published by Mr. M'Pherson as the works of Ossian was not shaken here. Mr. M'Queen (the minister of Ulinish) always evaded the point of authenticity, saying only that Mr. M'Pherson's pieces fell far short of those he knew in Erse which were said to be Ossian's. JOHNSON: "I hope they do. I am not disputing that you have poetry of great merit; but that Mr. M'Pherson's is not a translation from ancient poetry. You do not believe it, though you are very willing that the world should believe it." Mr. M'Queen made no answer to this. Dr. Johnson proceeded: "I look upon M'Pherson's *Fingal* to be as gross an imposition as ever the world was troubled with".'

And under the date 'Wednesday, November 10': '*Fingal* being talked of, Dr. Johnson, who used to boast that he had from the first resisted both Ossian and the giants of Patagonia, averred his positive disbelief of its authenticity. Lord Elibank said: "I am sure it is not M'Pherson's. Mr. Johnson, I keep company a great deal with you; it is known I do. I may borrow from you better things than I can say myself, and give them as my own; but, if I should, everybody will know whose they are." The Doctor was not softened by this compliment. . . . One gentleman in company expres-

sing the opinion that *Fingal* was certainly genuine, for that he had heard a great part of it repeated in the original, Dr. Johnson indignantly asked him whether he understood the original; to which an answer being given in the negative, "Why then (said Dr. Johnson) we see to what *this* testimony comes:—thus it is"!'

But Dr. Johnson's views, even when supported by the Rev. William Shaw, A.M., who in 1781 wrote: 'An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian,' were too sweeping and partial to be conclusive. Dr. Johnson was too prejudiced against things Scottish to be fair. His attitude was: 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?'

It may fairly be conceded that there were no long epic poems composed by Ossian and preserved by oral transmission, and that not all the Gaelic poems collected by Macpherson and his assistants were composed by Ossian; also that gaps in the text of the 'originals' were filled in by conjectural lines and phrases from Macpherson's ingenious brain; but his knowledge of Gaelic was not such as to render him equal to the task of composing anything like so many Gaelic verses. His knowledge of the topography of the Irish scenes in *Fingal* was hardly sufficient to account for the accuracy of the allusions to the actual features of the district, namely, the valley of the Six Mile Water in the neighbourhood of Larne. His changing of Gaelic proper names into something that is neither Gaelic nor English is difficult to defend. For example, Uisneach is metamorphosed into Usnoth, Naisi into Nathos, Dartheil (Deirdre) into Darthula, Guille into Gaul, Muirne into Morna, Cuchullain into Cuthullin. The only possible defence is their poetic beauty. The translation, no doubt, might have been better done; and Macpherson's memory of phrases in Homer, Virgil and Milton doubtless coloured his style and vitiated his claims to be a literal, or approximately literal translator. Still, there is abundant evidence that at the time Macpherson made his two journeys into the Highlands such

poetry as that which he claimed to have discovered did exist. Sir John Macpherson of Lauriston wrote to a friend on February 4, 1760: 'I do myself the pleasure of presenting you with a few specimens of Ossian in his native dress. . . . The "Address to the Evening Star" claimed attention on account of its inimitable beauty and harmonious versification. The original of this piece suffered even in the hands of Mr. Macpherson, though he has shown himself inferior to no translator. The copy or edition which he had of this poem is very different from mine; I imagine it will, in that respect, be agreeable to Mr. Percy. The gentleman who gave it me copied it from an old manuscript which Mr. Macpherson had no access to before his *Fingal* came abroad.'

In the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh is a MS. called *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, which was written before 1537, and in it are poems headed 'The author of this is Ossian the son of Finn'; and the editor of the printed edition of 1862 was able to append to it a version of one of these poems 'taken down from the oral recitation of Christina Sutherland, an old woman in the County of Caithness, in the year 1856.' This ancient MS. was known to Macpherson, and no doubt he took from it his account of the death of Oscar and the tales of Cuchullain and Conloch and Fainasollis.

In 1764 Macpherson went out to Pensacola as private secretary to the Governor; but he soon gave up the position and returned to London in 1766 with a pension of £200 a year. In 1771 he published his *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*; in 1773, a prose translation of Homer's *Iliad*; and in 1775 his *History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover*, for which he received £3,000. Later on he was appointed agent in Britain for the Nabob of Arcot and entered Parliament. In failing health, he retired in 1795 to a mansion he had built at Alvie, in Inverness-shire, where he died on February 17, 1796. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

W. G. HANSON.

Notes and Discussions

A NEW FRENCH LIFE OF CHRIST

THE number of recent lives of Christ by eminent literary men is a matter of thankfulness for the preacher; for every writer of insight will cast new light on the inexhaustible theme of our Lord's personality. Consequently the new life of Christ by M. François Mauriac¹ has aroused much interest; and although it was published only this year 105,000 copies have already been printed. This large circulation of a religious book should do something to dispel the still widely held notion that the French are an 'atheistic' race. M. Mauriac is one of the most popular of living French novelists, and his reception into the French Academy some years ago was a sign of the literary merits of his work.

M. Mauriac's book challenges comparison with another recent life of Christ by a French man of letters—*Jésus*, by Henri Barbusse, published in 1926. M. Barbusse claimed that he also had 'seen a vision of Jesus and loved him,' but the book showed that the so-called love was nothing more than an idyllic fancy for a figure even more imaginary than the creation of Renan. In Barbusse's work garbled stories taken from the Gospels were mingled with a considerable amount of folklore derived from myths which circulated around the basin of the Mediterranean at the beginning of the Christian era. It accepted the materialistic criticism of the 'origins' school of the Sorbonne; but it went beyond these scholars in representing the Jesus as involved in sexual relations with a village woman. M. Mauriac's book is a complete contrast. He writes as a convinced believer and with an unbounded reverence for the One who is for him the incarnate Son of God. Yet he seeks to represent Christ as truly human, in contrast to 'those devotees who, blinded by their infatuation, have elevated their subject above the earth on which He lived and died and thus made Him lose any definite outline or any of the traits of a true human being.'

As a devout Roman Catholic M. Mauriac accepts the accounts of the Gospels as they stand. The reader will find no discussion of current Synoptic problems or of the proportion of subjective and objective elements in St. John's Gospel. But the author's literary gifts have enabled him to weave together so skilfully the various strands of narrative that his book gives, to a remarkable degree, the impression of a live and coherent biography. M. Mauriac gives greater probability to his narrative by beginning his work not with the birth stories but with a picture of Jesus in his home at Nazareth, and this human touch is evident throughout the book. Here is a passage from the chapter on the Woman of Samaria which shows the author's sensibility:

¹ *Vie de Jésus*, par François Mauriac. (Collection 'L'Histoire', Flammarion. 1936.)

'When Jesus was seated by the well the soul that approached Him was a woman. There were many reasons why He should be silent in her presence. For one thing it was not seemly for a man to talk to a woman by the roadside. And then He was a Jew and she was a Samaritan. Moreover He who knew the hearts of others and also their bodies was not ignorant of the character of this attractive creature.

'The God-man raises His eyes towards this female. He, the infinite Purity, who had never had to mortify a base or unworthy desire is none the less desire incarnate because He is Love incarnate. He passionately desires the soul of this woman. He desires it with an eagerness which suffers no delay or abatement. He desires it entire, at this very moment, in this very place. The Son of man will have possession of this creature. It matters not that she is a concubine, a woman who has trailed and rolled in the mire, whom six men have held in their arms, and the one whose creature she now is and who takes his pleasure with her is not her husband. Jesus takes what He finds and picks up anything in order that His kingdom may come. He looks at her and decides that she shall to-day take possession of Sychar in His name and establish in Samaria the kingdom of God. For a whole night He had wearied Himself in catechising a doctor of the law to make him understand what it means to be born again. This woman with six husbands understands immediately what the theologian had not grasped. Jesus looks right into her eyes. He does not start or shrink back as do the virtuous before a girl for whom love is the great thing in life. Yet there is no indulgence or connivance with her sin. She is a soul, the first subject for His help. A ray of sunshine traverses a fragment of glass amid the filth; the flame leaps forth, and the whole forest is on fire.'

There is a similar passage on the woman who anointed Jesus at Bethany. M. Mauriac holds that she was not Mary Magdalene but Mary the sister of Lazarus 'who had attained to such a degree of love that it revealed to her her wretchedness, so that she could do no other than imitate the courtesan.'

In the chapter on The Sermon on the Mount the author comments on the apparent contradiction of the sayings, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' and, 'Judge not that ye be not judged':

'What a difficult law! We must not judge but we are not to be duped. The christian soul must be continually on the alert. The simple minded become gradually subtle and astute. Nothing is contradictory in this discourse yet everything is in opposition. It is difficult to be at the same time a dove, a serpent and a lily. The truth proclaimed on the mountain has more nuances than the voice of a bird. It is not a matter of certain rigid precepts which if obeyed will ensure a life according to rule; it is a life full of ambushes and snares where everything must be done with prudence and yet with love. It is as though He said "I am not a logician-God. I have nothing to do with your philosophy. My heart has reasons that your mind knows nothing of, for I am Love." Christ speaks of unquenchable fire yet He announces that He has come to save the lost. To the guilty wife who was dragged to his feet He did not speak of Gehenna . . . Christ's justice is what men call injustice. The prodigal is better treated than the well-behaved elder brother and the labourers engaged at the eleventh hour have wages equal to those who have toiled since dawn.'

We add some further interesting comments. The miracle at Cana was worked to prepare the disciples for an entire surrender to Him on His second appeal at the lakeside. The sons of Zebedee wished to call down fire from heaven because they had heard their Master speak of Gehenna and fire. The originality of the teaching of Jesus was in its tone. 'Prophets had hinted at similar things but with Him it is the accent that is new; His least saying has an incalculable significance.' In regard to the hostility of the rulers the author says:

'Absolute love repels the mediocrities, shocks the false élite and disgusts the fastidious. And doubtless His enemies now would hate Him much more than they do if they did not substitute the insipid and amiable Rabbi current during so many centuries for the man who really lived and showed Himself absolutely and literally implacable. It is the ignorance of many which prevents them from detesting Christ. If they understood Him they would not tolerate Him.'

There are some things in M. Mauriac's book to which we demur. It seems rather far-fetched to make the walk to Emmaus an allegory of the evening-time of the soul in its loss and loneliness. In the chapter on the last discourses Jesus is represented as deliberately connecting the prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem with that of the end of the world:

'He who knew all things knew also that His vision would lead His disciples into error. For that happy error would arm them with a hope strong enough to reconquer the earth. The glories of a world condemned soon to perish would count for nothing in their eyes. If they had thought that after nineteen centuries Christians would still be awaiting the manifestation of the Son of Man they might have fallen asleep. Yet in reality the Lord in dulling their perspective did not deceive them. For the world ends for each of us on the day of our death. And it is individually true that no one knows the day or the hour when the sun will be extinguished for him, or the moon will cease to bathe the groves of his childhood or the stars be lost in the immense darkness that closes around him.'

M. Mauriac's account of the trial and death of Christ is coloured by his Roman Catholic predilections. He holds that there was no majesty in Christ's bearing in the face of his tormentors. 'If his appearance had not been mean the rabble would have kept their distance. No, the Nazarene had nothing which imposed on that scum of the kitchen.' This opinion does not seem justified in view of the impression made by Jesus on Pilate and the centurion. The author describes the physical sufferings of the Passion with a realism which reminds one of Flaubert. The cumulative effect of these detailed horrors is undoubtedly impressive, but to good Protestants such a treatment will seem to be spiritually unwholesome and out of accord with the joy in Christ's triumph over death and the grave which is found in the writings of St. Paul. These, however, are but slight blemishes on a book which on the whole remarkably fulfils its author's aim of presenting a biography of Christ which is at once orthodox and thoroughly alive. We hope it will soon become available for English readers in a translation.

HENRY HOGARTH.

DR. COULTON ON MONASTICISM

A REVIEWER of books for a quarterly has necessarily seen the reviews in the weekly papers before his own is printed or even written, and it would be affectation to pretend otherwise. Dr. Coulton is a writer who invites controversy, and this latest volume¹ has provoked the usual criticism of his work. That he is industrious goes without saying, that he has his authorities at his fingers' ends is obvious from the ample documentation that characterizes everything he writes, and that he has a point of view is again obvious. But the usual charge made against him is that he is partisan, and that, of course, in the case of a scholar of his eminence, is about the most serious charge that could be brought. How far is it true?

It can be said, to begin with, that during the course of a busy life Dr. Coulton has set himself deliberately to 'debunk' Montalembert,

¹ *Five Centuries of Religion*, by G. G. Coulton. Vol. III: Getting and Spending. Cambridge University Press. 35s. net.

and this, of course, may be looked upon as a purely partisan enterprise. But did Montalembert himself write with an impartial pen, and if he did not, was this because of a biased use of sources or because all the sources available at the time justified his point of view? The answer is that it was a bit of both. Montalembert's *Monks of the West* has been responsible for building up a romantic idea of medieval monasticism just as Scott's novels romanticized medieval chivalry. It gave us the familiar picture of the monks as the scholars, the almoners and the agriculturists of the Middle Ages. Granted that the system fell on evil days, and abuses crept in which had to be reformed, it was nevertheless a sad day for England when the monasteries were dissolved, and the relief of the poor at the abbey gate and the education of poor children in the abbey cloister came to an end. William Cobbett, in his disgruntlement with the Evangelicals of his day, wrote a history of the Reformation to maintain this thesis, and it is still reprinted under Roman Catholic auspices.

This is the romantic view of monasticism that Dr. Coulton finds to be unsupported by the weight of evidence that would be required, and as a scholar he sets himself to redress the balance. Unfortunately, however, for his style, although not, we believe, for his scholarship, he is just as much concerned with Chesterton, Belloc, Butler, Gasquet and other English Roman Catholics as he is with St. Bernard and Cæsarius of Heisterbach. Facts can speak for themselves, and they can be trusted to do their own work in a scholarly enterprise of this kind. It is certainly a foolish waste of time to belabour their significance. The kind of people who will read these great books of Dr. Coulton's are not in the least likely to treat Chesterton and Belloc as serious historians of this period, any more than they are likely to be deceived by any kind of special pleading—not even by Dr. Coulton's!

And let it be said at once that at first sight there is a good deal of special pleading in this book. It gives a picture of almost unrelieved gloom, and if monasticism had really been as bad as Dr. Coulton would have us believe (despite the disclaimer in the preface) it is difficult to see how it could have lasted so long. What, however, many of the author's critics seem to have missed is that the answer to him, if answer is required, is to be found in his own pages, and it is not at all necessary to go to Montalembert or even Gasquet in order to get 'the other point of view.' The authorities are all laid out before us, chapter and verse in every case, and all it needs is a careful reading of the evidence that Dr. Coulton himself gives in order to get a more balanced view than the one which he himself so obviously prefers.

A good parallel can be drawn between movements in this period and movements in the nineteenth century. The Victorian age has been represented as an age of humbug and hypocrisy, of horse-hair sofas and Landseer's pictures, of laissez-faire and exploitation. This is all doubtless true, but the Victorian age also produced Carlyle, Turner, Ruskin, Maurice, Meredith and Huxley, and an age that could provide critics of their calibre could not have been so much

sunk in complacency as some people would have us believe. In the same way, while Dr. Coulton emphasizes the blackness of monastic religion as a whole, he does not forget the contemporary critics of that religion. For example, has any modern religious reformer ever dealt so unsparingly with simony as the great Dominican preacher Bromyard dealt with it, and what would happen to many Methodist ministers and laymen if he did? The social gospel is to be found in many of these great medieval leaders, and it is all the more remarkable to find it in an age so often alleged to be 'uncritical.' Indeed a good deal of the material for Dr. Coulton's censures is to be found in the contemporary records themselves.

In the two earlier volumes Dr. Coulton followed a more or less chronological plan. The 'five centuries' are those from A.D. 1000 to 1500, and 'religion' of course is the medieval term for monasticism. In the present volume he abandons even the 'more or less' chronological arrangement, and deals with the financial and business side of the monasteries throughout the period. This is a subject already partially dealt with by Dr. Coulton himself, and in Snape's *English Monastic Finances* and Hartridge's *Vicarages in the Middle Ages*, two books previously noticed by the present reviewer in the *Holborn Review*. The sub-title, 'Getting and spending,' has a sting in it, for the sentence of Wordsworth continues 'we lay waste our powers,' and Dr. Coulton's thesis is that it was money and wealth which caused the rot to set in in medieval religion. Monastic revenues were made up from all kinds of sources—endowments, masses (sometimes neglected), relics (occasionally stolen), dowries, feudal dues, banking, trade, and 'appropriations.' These last illustrate a distinction in medieval life, the significance of which is often forgotten, namely that between the monk and the priest. Medieval ecclesiastical life had two almost independent local expressions—the parish and the monastery. Monks were very seldom priests, and where they took over or 'appropriated' parish churches with their revenues they had to appoint a 'vicar' to perform the duties of the parish priest. Despite the high standard set by early founders of monasteries there came to be what Dr. Coulton calls a 'scramble for tithes,' and many a fine scandal ensued thereby. These revenues had been attached to parish churches mainly for the poor, but 'the poor' in the later Middle Ages came to be a technical term, *pauperes Christi*, 'Christ's poor,' meaning by that the monks. Yet those who had thus become as individuals poor for Christ's sake were, as communities, among the wealthiest in the land. Dr. Coulton traces remorselessly the process of degeneration that went on, and the casuistry that was developed in order to provide a theoretical defence of the system.

The general impression gathered from the whole story is that monks were very much human beings like ourselves, no better and no worse. The theology of the time, however, offered endless possibilities of money-getting to those who were supposed by the lay folk to be in a specially favourable position *vis-à-vis* the unseen world, and the monks too easily succumbed to temptation. In an interesting

chapter, Dr. Coulton shows that even 'cooking the accounts' might be resorted to, although the medieval method of book-keeping (in Roman figures!) made proper accountancy almost impossible. Yet never at any time was the voice of criticism stilled, and Dr. Coulton gives us example after example of strong contemporary condemnation of greed and exploitation. As in all his books, Dr. Coulton enjoys telling a good story, and there are many in this volume. The book is quite indispensable for any thorough study of medieval social life. Bishops, preachers, monks, kings, poor parsons, and lay folk pass along through its pages as they do in Chaucer's *Prologue*. There is not a dull page in it, and we look forward with eager anticipation to the remaining two volumes. Dr. Coulton began by promising us four volumes: we are glad to see that he now brings up the number to five.

A. VICTOR MURRAY.

BRITISH ECONOMIC FOREIGN POLICY

THE economic depression of recent years has constituted a serious challenge to statesmanship and has demanded a new interest in economic planning. This is true of all countries and in Britain an important change of policy has been the outcome. Traditional policies have been abandoned and new policies have been entered upon. These have been considered necessary to meet the changed situation. The change in British policy is likened by Professor Richardson¹ to that of the New Deal in the United States both for magnitude and importance. It is admitted that it is too early to reach final conclusions upon this changed policy but a preliminary survey of the trends of policy and measures to be taken is possible and it is excellently provided in this book.

The importance of understanding this new policy is readily recognized when it is recalled that in a year or so agreements with foreign countries must come up for discussion. Also, in 1937, the Ottawa Agreements will be revised. Moreover, further consideration must still be given to problems of Imperial Preference and monetary policy has yet to reach a settled state. To this task, that of understanding the changed and still changing British economic policy, Professor Richardson brings not only his own special and brilliant gifts but all the advantages of knowledge which have been afforded him in his recent status as Assistant Chief of Section, Research Division, International Labour Office of the League of Nations. In this office he has had, for a number of years, opportunity of considering the effect of British economic and labour policy upon both British conditions and conditions in foreign countries.

The turning-point in British economic foreign policy came about in the financial crisis of 1931. From that time we have accepted what is known as an interventionist policy, setting aside principles of laissez-

¹ *British Economic Foreign Policy*. By J. Henry Richardson. (Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 10s. 6d.)

faire which had been accepted for seventy years. Thus we have passed from a passive to an active economic policy and this admits of 'co-ordination with political foreign policy.' But just because this involves not only discrimination but the risk of war, complete co-ordination has been prevented. Moreover, discrimination tends to create, or at least to encourage, national self-sufficiency—a not very desirable thing. Nevertheless, discrimination does go on. This, when uniformly applied and if it does not close the home market to foreign traders, is not resented. Trouble begins when discrimination against foreign nations varies, some nations benefiting and some suffering.

We live in a day of conditional most-favoured-nation treatment—a policy which tends to create a strained relation among nations. Economic war, which is considered to justify retaliation, is the result. This state of things is due not only to direct but to indirect discrimination, that is, to 'encouragement given to nationals to travel and trade in certain countries to the disadvantage of others.' Sometimes, however, business interests are at variance with political policy. Thus it is quite possible to wage economic warfare while still remaining politically friendly. The boycotting of Australian goods by Lancashire towns is a case in point.

The general trends of British economic policy are interesting and deserve special study. In a masterly survey, Professor Richardson points out that from a foreign trade that was complementary rather than competitive in pre-war days, we have now arrived with the rest of the world—due mainly to a system of organized production of other countries since the war—at the creation of sectional economic groups aggravated by barriers to trade. The history of the change is of peculiar importance to those who realize the significance of economic policies. From the restrictions of the Defence of the Realm Act Britain went back, after the War, to Free Trade and free capital investments. It was thought that this was the only way to recovery. Then, in 1925, came the return to the gold standard—another attempt to reach pre-war conditions. The World Economic Conference, from which much in this line was expected, miserably failed. 'Faced with increasingly severe foreign competition,' says Professor Richardson, 'and with trade hampered by the barriers of economic nationalism, Britain was no longer in the favoured pre-war position. . . . Yet other countries were making progress; the trade of the world was increasing but Britain's share was diminishing.' In 1931, the gold standard had to be suspended and, according to our author, the following six months marked the real end of laissez-faire. 'Now came a period of intervention, regulation and control,' and following this the Ottawa Agreements. To-day, the British Government, like others, gives conscious direction to economic affairs. It now can, and actually does, use economic weapons of offence and defence in regard to both foreign trade and home industries. One result of such a policy is that business interests are now more closely linked to Government policy though, at the same time, Government is advised and influenced by business

organizations and 'not infrequently the Government's policy is based on suggestions made by these organizations.'

The implication of all this is made clear in the author's treatment of Britain's Monetary, Financial, Commercial, Imperial Trade, Agricultural and Labour policies, each of which subjects is discussed in different chapters, and in the conclusions which he draws from his survey. It is impossible in limited space to do full justice to a book of this character. Some chapters, such as those on Monetary and Financial policies, we must reluctantly pass over. These chapters, though of special interest, require some measure of technical and expert knowledge in order to be thoroughly understood. Nevertheless, there is much information of an historical character which can be readily appreciated by the ordinary reader. The somewhat startling fact that emerges from the pages of this book is that Britain has seen the end of *laissez-faire* and that economists have accepted as inevitable the overthrow, under present conditions, of the principles of Free Trade. And this would appear to be a necessity rather than the mere supplanting of the programme of one political party by that of another. It must be pointed out, however, that *laissez-faire* and Free Trade, as Sir Archibald Sinclair has declared, are not synonymous terms. Nevertheless, Free Trade, in view of the present economic situation, has been abandoned and its principles seriously challenged. It must be admitted that in abnormal situations changed policies are sometimes necessary. But does the changed policy of Britain at the present time mean that Free Trade must be permanently abandoned? Or is it a short-term policy which, while meeting the position of restricted markets and trade depression, must give place to a Free Trade policy when world trade improves? Professor Richardson warns us that if and when the world situation improves the success of the present policy might be challenged. We think he is right. Tariffs and quotas may be necessary at a time of restricted world trade but when such trade is free and available (if that ever comes about) the present policy might prove suicidal. It would appear, however, that we can no longer, owing to a changing world, be purists in our political faith.

It should be recognized that economic policy must be tested by broader political issues, especially that of national security. This consideration has led to the abandoning of the principles of Free Trade, the suspension of the gold standard, Government intervention in trade and investments, the use of Tariffs as bargaining weapons, the development of an Imperial Trade Policy and the subsidizing of agriculture. In the matter of agriculture it is now admitted that it is impossible for Britain to become self-sufficient. This fact has led to a changed attitude in regard to subsidies and an altered policy toward exporting countries. Nevertheless, it is claimed for the present policy as a whole that it has resulted, on the one hand, in improved trade, and on the other hand, in a decrease in unemployment. How far this is due to the recent demand for armaments is not stated. What must be realized is that foreign markets are now much more restricted and that increasing trade goes to the Dominions and Colonies. Yet even

the British Empire is not self-sufficient: trade with foreign countries is still necessary, proving the eternal principle that the nations are members one of another. It is for the British people, therefore, to see to it that economic warfare does not become so acute as to make actual war possible, for it has become increasingly clear that economic policy can carry with it the seeds of actual warfare.

The Government's concern for commercial and trade interests is clear. It would be happy to think that this concern was reflected in its Labour policy. Professor Richardson reminds us that the Washington Hours Convention (a forty-eight hour week) has not yet been ratified, nor the Convention providing for a weekly rest of at least twenty-four consecutive hours for persons employed in industrial undertakings, nor the Convention prohibiting night work in bakeries between the hours of 11 p.m. and 5 a.m., nor yet the Convention prohibiting the use of white lead for painting the interior of buildings—a Convention strongly opposed by paints manufacturers.

Among other matters referred to, the most interesting concern the Government's direct interest in shipping, in Imperial Airways, Ltd., in oil and in cotton. To say the least, these activities are revealing.

We most heartily and sincerely congratulate Professor Richardson and his publishers on the production of this book. It is excellently written, beautifully printed and a delight to handle. Professor Richardson treats his subject lucidly, offers many facts and much information, presents a masterly survey and views his subject with commendable detachment. We warmly commend this work and regard it as a contribution that should not be missed.

T. W. BEVAN.

JAPANESE ANCIENT AND MODERN POETRY

EVEN for the critical expert it must be difficult to have aught but praise for Asataro Miyamori's book on *The Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and Modern*, published by the Maruzen Company, Tokyo. Certainly the general reader can do nothing but find delight in a production which is in every sense not a commercial proposition, but a work of unfettered enthusiasm. This remains true though half the beauty of the book is sealed to the average reader by his own ignorance, and something more inevitably lost in the 'englishing' of these Japanese 'tanka'—little poems of thirty-one syllables in whose precise form the poets have imprisoned the fugitive beauty of life.

These two volumes have behind them a lifelong study and devotion on the part of the author, who was born in the beautiful Isle of Ikuchishima and has spent his days in the discovery and unfolding of the universal things of poetry in the Japanese and English worlds. Even as he has introduced Shakespeare to his own country, he now seeks to introduce the masterpieces of his own land to the West. Japan has given much to the world lately—alarums and excursions among other things. It is right that this gift of her poetry should be given by so scholarly, cultured and just a man. There is no dearth of

matter. Lafcadio Hearn's remark is abundantly justified, 'Poetry in Japan is universal as the air; it is felt by everybody; it is read by everybody; it is composed by almost everybody.'

What a delightful picture it is of men setting forth on a day's expedition, armed doubtless with all the other necessities and amenities for a day in the country, but also with strips of paper on which to record their poetic sentiments stirred by flowers and fireflies, to be pinned on some tree for the passer-by to read! There is a wood in Shakespeare where poems are found attached to trees, but the Forest of Arden is a story-book wood, and the device an artificial help to the development of a plot, altogether different from this spontaneous capture of the passing emotion of the soul in the presence of Nature.

Long ago I remember the impression made by a picture of autumn leaves blown by the wind across a full moon's face which seemed to reveal the essential character of Japanese art, both in drawing and verse, inspired as it is by the changing seasons, quick moving clouds and abrupt snowfalls. Suddenly the poet is confronted with something in Nature's eternal order which is like himself. 'Nature and men are manifestations of one life' is the conscious sentiment of the modern schools of Japanese poetry—with such sweet-sounding names as the 'Light Fragrance Society'—as it has been the underlying principle throughout the ages since literature began in Japan.

Naturally enough, Fuji-no-yama catches the eye again and again as the many beautiful illustrations are turned over and which achieve great charm by the simplest of means. Some of the exquisite snow pieces owe everything to a seemingly random invasion of a simple colour on the whiteness of the page. No other country has so simple and inevitable a natural symbol as Japan has in Fuji-no-yama. Egypt has the Pyramids or Sphinx, or it is the land of the Nile, and Rome is the City of the Seven Hills. There is no physical symbol and sacrament of the British race unless it be the obvious white cliffs. But none of these is comparable in its influence to Fuji which for the Japanese lifts its cone as the embodiment of the eternal spirit of his country so that he can hardly see a piece of paper without wishing to inscribe thereon its image or to write something of its everlasting beauty.

It is a deity unnameable,
Beyond expression marvellous,
It is a god which watches over Japan.

Fuji is one of the first words every Japanese mother speaks to her baby, and no Japanese home, however poor and wretched, but has its picture of the mountain in some form or other. The perpetual conflict between its inner fire and the chilling snows stands for the opposing joy and pain which are the permanent elements of life, and on its flanks the fleeting shadows of the clouds and the white mantle of the snows come and go. For it is the function of Japanese poetry with its exquisite sympathy to shew against the eternal background the fugitive experiences of man.

That is why so much of Japanese poetry is filled with the falling of flowers and leaves. It is hard to say which holds the more tender

pain, the falling of the cherry blossom in spring or the drifting of the maple leaves in autumn. There is the spring bloom covered with snow yet spreading its sweet scent, just like man's courage and desperate joy flaming up in adverse circumstances. The autumn leaves of the maple drift across the face of the full moon; they fall so thick through the air that the poet bids them cease for they curtain the sight of his beloved home; they are so massed on the river that they form a purple dam, making a frail bridge over the flowing waters, all so eloquent of the fleetingness of life's joys which are yet so beautiful in their passing.

Perhaps it might be thought there is something a little monotonous in this constant falling of petals, the recurring song of the uguisu in spring, the cry of the wild geese overhead, which seem almost unbelievably to prefer to make for a far land away from these bright flowers, even as men die and go to a place which is not the dear earth. However, so subtle and sensitive is the sympathy with which these poems are filled that they strike the same note again and again with no suspicion of weariness, performing the miracle that the winter frost uses to produce the myriad colours of autumn.

I wonder how
White single-tinted dews
Can dye the autumn leaves
A thousand hues.

Nor is the modern note missing. Both the social conscience and the scepticism of the mind of to-day find a place. It is difficult to think of four short lines which hold a greater fulness of meaning than this poem entitled 'Christ':

I said unto my sister
'Christ was but a man.'
Her eyes looked on me sadly,
Pitying me.

Or of any other four lines which compress the aspirations of a world more neatly and reverse its values more entirely:

May swords become quickly
Rusted completely
For the honour and glory
Of the world of mankind.

PERCY J. BOYLING.

AN ASPECT OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF SUNDAY

THE desecration of Sunday by the unscrupulous trader is no new evil. It can be seen in the early days of Protestant England; the Commonwealth governments legislated against it; and the basis of the present legal position on the matter is an Act of 1677. A century ago several attempts were made to secure legislation which should check or prevent Sunday trading. *The Methodist Magazine* for June, 1836, informed its readers with regret of the failure, at its second reading, of a Bill with this end in view. At any rate 1936 has done better than that.

For the Christian, Sunday must be pre-eminently the Lord's Day: for the person who does not feel constrained by the call of Christ, Sunday needs to be primarily a day of rest. We might not word our statement quite in the form used by a Select Committee of the House of Commons set up to consider the subject of Sunday Observance in 1832, but we should surely agree with it. It reads: 'The objects to be attained by Legislation may be considered to be, first, a solemn and decent outward observance of the Lord's Day, as that portion of the week which is set apart by Divine command for public worship; and next, the securing to every member of the community without any exception, and however low his station, the uninterrupted enjoyment of that day of rest which has been in mercy provided for him, and the privilege of employing it, as well in the sacred exercises for which it was ordained, as in the bodily relaxation which is necessary for his well-being, and which, though a secondary end, is nevertheless also of high importance.'

The State has to protect the individual from the selfish member of the community, for in essence all the problems connected with the observance of Sunday are due to selfishness. If the individual did not place himself at the centre of life there would be room for God, and to worship would be natural, and Sunday would be welcomed. The whole problem of Sunday labour and Sunday trading arises because of, either, the individual who puts his own enjoyment first and so demands that others minister to it by giving him travelling facilities, refreshment, and amusement, or, the individual who puts his own material profits first and so opens his business regardless of the fact that, amongst other results, he is making it almost essential for others to do the same.

The story of Sunday Observance in England in the last four centuries shows that legislation has only served its purpose when public opinion in general, or some organized section of it, has supported it. This is where the Church has had its part to play and Methodism from its earliest days has recognized this. The Rules of the Society drawn up by John and Charles Wesley on May 1, 1743, definitely state that members must avoid 'profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling.' The matter was often referred to in later pronouncements, as in the *Minutes* of 1795 which ordered the exclusion from the Society of those who engaged in trade on Sunday, 'except in the cases of medicine for the sick, or of supplying necessities for funerals.' The result of this stand was not confined to the Methodists themselves, but influenced others. Thus the Superintendent of Police for the City of London, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, to which reference has already been made, attributed the improvement which he had noted in the matter of Sunday Observance to the Methodists.

No new legislation was made on the matter of Sunday trading a century ago, although the passing of the years had made the Act of 1677 inadequate, particularly in the matter of penalties. To-day

the Act is still more ineffectual because, since 1871, no proceedings under it can be instituted without the written permission of a chief police officer, or a stipendiary magistrate, or two justices of the peace. Hence the need for fresh legislation this year.

As last century proceeded the problem seems to have been solved, to a great extent, by the changed attitude of public opinion which saw the religious and social evils of Sunday trading. To-day we are faced with the fact that for many years public opinion outside the Churches, and to some extent inside, has been demanding and assuming the freedom of the individual to spend the Sunday as he pleases. But to do this the individual, who in so many cases cannot provide in these complex days for his own pleasure, has consciously or unconsciously been making more and more demands upon the labours of his fellows. Because a growing proportion of the population have desired to do as they liked on Sunday an increasing proportion have had to work, whether they wanted to do so or not. It is a healthy sign that certain sections of the people have at last reawakened to the social value of the Sunday as a day of rest. A general acceptance of this fact will be the surest way of ending Sunday trading, along with other abuses of the day, and also of preparing people to appreciate the religious obligations of the Lord's Day. Thus the whole-hearted support of all Christian people should be given to any effort which can be made to impress upon the community the fact that a restful Sunday is a social right and that individuals must be protected from the selfishness of those who would unnecessarily cause them to lose this right.

WILFRED B. WHITAKER.

Editorial Comments

JOHN TELFORD.

Let the name stand simply, in the strength of its own gentleness. He never sought adornments, and titles would do him no honour. Nor need we prefix a word that suggests his dying, for to men like him there is no death. Yet we shall not see him again upon his earthly pilgrimage. One does not say it has ended; there is a more fitting phrase—it is complete.

We, who are left, are conscious of sore loss. He was a man of learning, ever willing to share his treasures, but to those who knew him he was guide and counsellor and friend.

He served a long apprenticeship, for thirty-two years, as a circuit minister. He acquired the art of the pastor as few other men have understood it, and if one were to enumerate his qualities it would be natural to describe him first as a shepherd of souls. Villagers and those who 'walk in the city' welcomed him, and counted his presence a benediction.

He was a student who sought out truth. Many of the literary discoveries with which his name will be associated were the result of painstaking research and a careful sifting of evidence. With his inevitable 'little black bag' he threaded his way to Bloomsbury and his favourite treasure-house, the British Museum. His bent figure mounted the steps and passed through the great doors to lose itself amongst the ghosts of yesterday. Presently he would emerge with some new secret—a forgotten hymn or a revealing letter. On his face there would be a smile of contentment.

For years he was a link with Victorian England, though his mind was alert to the problems of to-day. They troubled him a little. Worship was so real a thing to him that he could not understand a generation which seemed to hold it lightly.

His editorial duties were discharged with a constant sense of their high purpose and an unfailing consideration for reader and contributor alike. With unruffled calm and keen discernment he gathered his material. For twenty-nine years he edited the *London Quarterly Review* with distinction. The books he wrote were many; the books he read were legion. His critical faculties as a reviewer were acute, but they were never used unkindly.

Many generations will treasure his standard edition of John Wesley's Letters. Congregations everywhere will find their worship enriched by his tender solicitude for the accurate preservation of Charles Wesley's hymns. Church historians will be indebted to him for his critical investigation of Methodist sources.

It was as official Letter-Writer to Conference that he performed his last task. In beautifully-balanced sentences he wrote a graceful

letter of thanks from the Newcastle Conference to its hosts. Then he laid down his pen and went quietly home.

As we think of John Telford we remember a word spoken by an old Christian to Justin Martyr, in the second century: 'Pray above all things that the Gates of Light may be opened to you.' The whole life of our friend was an expression of that prayer and, as he wrote of John Wesley, 'the happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance.'

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A TRIBUTE FROM THE REV. B. A. BARBER.

His simple belief in Providence and his sense of mystic union with Christ deepened with the years. A rich spiritual experience was the essence of his strength and peace. He was of those who believe that God has prepared for His children some better thing than they tasted the day before. Here again is the secret of his forward look and of that endurance which is the final loyalty of faith. His secluded temperament might have developed the recluse had it not been for his preaching appointments on the Dorking circuit. Here, in his quaint homely fashion, he conducted a pastoral ministry among his people: 'Peace be to this house' was his familiar greeting to many village homes; and it carried with it a benediction. He himself had known trial and sorrow; he had trod the shadowed way. But he learned the Lord's song in the night, and he knew how to impart the secret of peace. He was indeed a sort of bishop, for the worshippers at the little country chapels in which he preached regarded him lovingly as a 'Father in God.'

His experience but deepened his humility. He held with Mark Rutherford that a little intercourse with the immortals, or a look at the stars on a clear night, is a tolerably sure antidote to thinking too much of yourself.

I shall remember his strength, his serenity, and his beautiful spirit; and I shall always be grateful to have known John Telford and to have shared with him a happy, though brief fellowship at City Road.

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WILLIAM TINDALE.

On October 6, 1536, William Tindale was strangled and his body burnt at a stake shaped, contemptuously, like a cross. Four hundred years after, one looks back and doubts whether any other man ever gave quite so much to England as this poor exile.

Many writers have attempted to analyse the qualities which made Tindale so excellent a translator. They have acclaimed his patience and honesty, his natural simplicity of style and his intelligent appreciation of Erasmus as being largely responsible for his success. One feels that the all-important qualification lay in his own spiritual experience. He was able to give the Bible to his fellows because he had made it his own possession. He desired to give it to them, because he had proved the reality of its message.

In the exhortation with which Erasmus prefaced his New Testament there occurred the words: 'I would to God the ploughman would sing a text of the Scripture at his ploughbeam, and that the weaver at his loom with this would drive away the tediousness of time.' Tindale gratefully acknowledged Erasmus as his 'master and spiritual guide' and it has been suggested that he echoed his words in a certain argument during his formative years. He is said to have cried out to an angry prelate who had declared that men had better be without God's laws than the Pope's: 'I defy the Pope and all his laws. . . . If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause the boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest.' The words are reminiscent of Erasmus, but one can almost hear the difference of the tone in which they were uttered. Tindale's translation was not accomplished to 'drive away the tediousness of time.' For him the task was a passionate 'concern' for his fellows. He was determined that every man and woman in England should be able to read and understand the message which had meant so much to him. He carried out his purpose but it cost him England, freedom, and at last his life.

It is true that his work had a decisive influence on English literature. He had demonstrated the possibilities of his native language to express spiritual truths and so had blazed a trail which the greatest writers of the Elizabethan age presently followed. More than this, he had established principles which have influenced and will continue to influence each successive version and revision of the English Bible. These would be great achievements in themselves but it was no academic task which led him to accept exile and persecution, and to meet death with a generous prayer for his enemies. One takes up his New Testament, which he published in Holland in 1534, and phrase after phrase makes it obvious that the author is not a merely scholastic product of humanism. The words breathe! They are alive with a simple and sometimes a passionate sincerity. They are fit interpreters of a spiritual message because they are the product of a spiritual experience. 'Come unto me all ye that laboure and are laden and *I wyll ease you.*' Perhaps his understanding of that promise helped him as he paid the price of fidelity in the Castle of Vilvorde. 'Send me a warmer cap,' he wrote to the Governor, 'for I suffer extremely from cold . . . in the cell; also a piece of cloth, to patch my leggings. My overcoat has been worn out. My shirts are also worn out. I wish also permission to have a candle in the evening; for it is wearisome to sit alone in the dark.'

Four hundred years ago they led him out to the stake and strangled him, as he prayed. He did not resist or regret. 'No man that putteth his honde to the plowe and loketh backe is apte to the kyngdome of God.' Across the centuries one seems to see him, holding the precious pages beyond the reach of the flames—William Tindale, apte to the kyngdome of God.

A MEMOIR OF DR. W. T. DAVISON.

It would be difficult to devise a more perfect tribute to the memory of Dr. W. T. Davison than that contained in the recently-published book, *Mystics and Poets*. It consists of a memoir, three short appreciations, and five essays selected from those written by Dr. Davison for the *London Quarterly Review* in past years.

The choice of the essays was made by Dr. Wilbert Howard, and the first two, on the Myths of Plato and on Plotinus, are studies which remind us of the contribution to religious thought their author made in his book, *The Indwelling Spirit*. The other three essays are on Dante, Wordsworth and Browning, who were his boon companions in his spiritual and intellectual pilgrimage. These studies are not academic criticisms. They are revealing, vital and inspiring. Perhaps one of their most charming features consists of unexpected asides. Those who knew Dr. Davison and his work will agree that he 'kept to the point,' but in these essays he allows himself an occasional pause and a gentle explanation of some secondary issue. For example, in discussing Plotinus, he quotes Dr. Bigg who compared the style of the Greek mystic with that of Browning, for its subtlety and obscurity. Then suddenly Dr. Davison adds a gracious explanation: 'In the case of both writers the obscurity is due, not so much to carelessness as to over-eagerness and undue compression of thought, to the frequent use of ellipses and concentration upon substance to the neglect of form.'

The little collection is a choice example of the humanism and the religious insight of one who was a profound thinker and a dear friend to many who will read this book with gratitude.

Memoirs are not always satisfactory or accurate, but Doctor Howard has made us all his debtors in this case. Nothing could have been more suitably written for the occasion than the delightful sketch with which the volume begins. With engaging frankness and with balanced judgement the picture is drawn faithfully and lovingly. As we read we seemed to see that slight but resolute figure emerging in his changing moods. We did not wonder that his colleague, his friend and his student wrote the tributes which are contained in the volume. In less than fifty pages Dr. Howard has given us a portrait which will live in the gallery of Methodist heroes for many a year to come. It would have been easy to write a fulsome panegyric but he has scorned to do this. Instead, he has given us an intimate picture of the real man. There are passages which are moving in their simple account of unsuspected heroism and desperate struggle. They are balanced by descriptions of boyish escapades, and little human weaknesses which make the strength of the man more obvious. We are grateful to Dr. Howard for giving us a monograph which is a model of biographical writing, and which is a challenging reminder of the greatness of one who permitted us to call him friend.

STATISTICS AND DEFEATISM.

Many people are growing despondent because of the constant consideration of a 'decline in numbers.' One of the post-war religious organizations is evolving a policy which refuses to publish statistics for a period of years, in order that it may cut away 'dead wood' and bend its energies to the positive problem of cultivation. The contention is that a sequence of post-mortem examinations is depressing. Whilst it is obvious that numerical returns are of importance, there is an increasing danger of encouraging a spirit of defeatism by dwelling with almost savage morbidity on decreases.

Ceaseless analysis of the causes of defeat does not necessarily mean a discovery of the ways which lead to victory. In assessing its strength the Christian Church has become prone to quantitative statements, and has omitted qualitative estimates. There was a moment in its earliest history when its membership showed a decrease of one, but it was the better able to set about its task because it had dispensed with the services of Judas Iscariot.

Whilst one is not blind to defections is it not time that our assemblies concentrated their attention on positive service and the seizing of new opportunities? Prolonged inquests are intolerably depressing to youth and age alike. Neither lamentation nor acrid criticism will fire men with that passionate conviction of positive and invincible values, which they must possess if they are to win this despairing world for Christ. There comes a time when men must end examinations of the 'dead' and mobilize the living.

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A NEW EDITION OF THE BIBLE.

When the translator has finished his work, and given the people the Book it remains for the printer to provide them with separate copies. This has always been a difficult task. Three-quarters of a million words must be so printed as to fit into one small volume. The book must be cheap but it must also be readable. Popular editions of the Bible have often been difficult to read because the type has been cramped. The post-war years have seen an amazing advance in the art of printing, and its effects are obvious in the latest production of the Cambridge University Press.

The text of the Authorised Version has been reproduced in specially cut type which is bold and clear but not aggressive. Since the book is meant for the general reader, the customary italics are not used, nor do the verses begin with indentations. It is, in itself, a beautiful book, worthily presented at a most reasonable price. It is a distinct improvement on any previous popular edition, and will probably encourage many to begin reading their Bibles with new delight.

Since the prices range from 2s. 6d. to 27s. 6d. they offer considerable choice to the person of limited means. One style, bound in buckram with bevelled boards, is an excellent example of workmanlike production which has a beauty of its own. Another, on India paper, is a slender volume, elegantly bound in royal gallic, with overlapping

covers and rounded corners, that might be described by 'the moderns' as stream-lined. We congratulate the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press on having set a new standard in the printing of the Bible for popular use. We hope that the Revised Version may be similarly printed.

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THE BOOK OF OFFICES.

It is a matter for great thankfulness that the Book of Offices for use in the Methodist Church is now complete. Its compilation has been effected by a large and representative Committee, which has considered several thousand suggestions and proposed emendations. The ancient liturgies of Eastern and Western Christianity have contributed to its contents. Medieval works of devotion and modern books of prayers have also been used.

It was essential that the forms of service for use on specific occasions should be authorised as soon as possible after the Union of 1932. At the same time it is desirable that no one should feel they have been hurried into the acceptance of anything that involves violent change in procedure. The Preface to the Book of Offices makes it clear that there must not be any attempt to disparage the practice of free prayer. It continues: 'But there is no real conflict between free prayer and liturgical prayer, for the most fervent and the most helpful prayers that ever came from the inspiration of the moment will be found to owe much in their expression to the remembrance of the language of the Bible, of the great liturgies, and of the hymns of Methodism. It is to be hoped that the use of these services will contribute much both to the form and the spirit of extemporary prayer, and that such prayer in its freedom and inspiration will be used more, and not less, in the days before us.'

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G. K. CHESTERTON.

When a man has made his mark in at least six forms of literary expression, it is difficult to assess his value by any comparative method. There are not many writers with whom one can compare Chesterton who was brilliant as critic, novelist, essayist, historian, playwright and poet. Nor is it easy to consider his work in any one of these classes apart from the rest. There is so much overlapping that one is compelled, in fairness, to assess the whole. Even then it is not a programme or a philosophy one discovers but a man.

The Rumanian critic, Valeriu Marcu, described him as seeing 'the human turmoil in the twilight of the past,' but that was because he had already decided that Bernard Shaw was the pure progressive and G. K. Chesterton the pure conservative—a judgement that might be questioned. Much as he loved the thirteenth century Chesterton did not live in it. He was a man of our own day, keenly alive to its problems and deeply concerned in helping to solve them.

Though it is too soon to attempt to estimate the permanent value of his contribution to literature, there are some facts already beyond

dispute. His brilliant critical studies of Dickens, Browning and Stevenson will remain classics. In them he revealed a sympathetic understanding, a sense of balance, a sanity and wit, and a penetrating insight which made him an ideal interpreter. Beneath ingenuous and almost flippant phrases one discovers a seriousness that is tremendous. It has been said that, like Robert Louis Stevenson, he never left the nursery because the wisdom of the nursery is the wisdom of the world. There is something of the frank discernment of the child in his approach to the problem of Francis of Assisi. No one who has read the chapter on *le Jongleur de Dieu* can ever forget it, nor will it be possible for many of us to discover a finer parable of happiness. It was no dreamer living in a thirteenth century who cried out 'We are not generous enough to be ascetics; one might almost say not genial enough to be ascetics.' One remembers the last words of that amazing chapter—'the stars which passed above that gaunt and wasted corpse stark upon the rocky floor had for once, in all their shining cycles round the world of labouring humanity, looked down upon a happy man.'

It is certain that no future student of the English essay will be able to neglect Chesterton's contributions. Their studied eccentricity, their critical and controversial qualities, and their brilliant originality give them a permanent value. They are often provocative but never wildly untruthful; they delight in the grotesque but they are never futile; sometimes they achieve a strange beauty but they are never precious in phrasing or strained and artificial in structure. One remembers the sense of loss which many felt when G. K.'s Saturday article ceased in the daily Press.

One of the gifts we have prized most was that great epic poem, 'The Ballad of the White Horse.' This is not the place in which to attempt a critical description of such a masterpiece, but we could wish it were more widely known and more carefully studied. Like much of his work it carries one along so swiftly—as though one rode the horse at a gallop—that the sincere reader must make the journey many times.

In more recent days we have grown accustomed to listen eagerly to his broadcast Book Reviews. They were always ingenious in their grouping and enlightening in their criticism. The fact that one who was held to be an enemy of modernity should thus 'air' his views through so new a medium was not without humour.

The world of letters has lost one of its most distinguished members. Society has lost a conversationalist who was the Doctor Johnson of his day, but who had the added grace of being an excellent listener. Humanity has lost a friend.

LESLIE F. CHURCH.

Ministers in Council

WITH the passing of the summer, Study Circles are preparing their programmes for the coming season and already word has come to hand from some of the secretaries.

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NEWCASTLE QUEST. The Rev. J. Coulson sends me particulars of this enterprising group. The meetings, open to all ministers in the Newcastle and the Sunderland and Durham Districts, are held monthly in the small hall of the Central Methodist Church, Ridley Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Travelling expenses are pooled. Lunch is provided on the premises. The first meeting of the season is to be held on October 6. The book for study in the mornings will be Sorley's *Moral Values and the Idea of God*. The topics for the afternoons include 'Spiritual Healing' with special reference to the Conference report and Bernard Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*.

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BLACKBURN MINISTERS' FRATERNAL. Dr. E. G. Braham is giving the first paper in the new session on 'By what means can we establish the Existence of Deity?' He has the conviction that the state of things is different to-day from what it was in the time of David Hume when he contended that it was only the Nature of Deity that was in question. Nowadays the Being as well as the Existence of Deity is being challenged.

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NORTH WEST MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION. The Rev. Gilberthorpe Harrison of 5 Acres Road, Bebington, Cheshire, is the new secretary of this Association. Any minister in the area bounded by the Dee in the south, Morecambe in the north, Hindley in the east and the Lancashire coast in the west, is eligible for membership, as also ministers living in the Isle of Man. The sessions are held in April and particulars may be had on application to Mr. Harrison.

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ADULT RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. Ministers may probably be finding a new readiness on the part of local Education Authorities to co-operate in providing Public Lecture Courses or University Extension Courses on religious topics. Professor R. Peers, M.A., of the University College, Nottingham, who is particularly interested in Adult Education, has been kind enough to supply me with details of work being done through his own department. In Nottingham at the University College, in 1933 the Rev. Professor K. E. Kirk, D.D. (Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford), gave a course of six lectures on 'Christian Ethics and Modern Doubts.' The fee for the course was four shillings, but to students and members of approved societies this was reduced to half-a-crown; single lectures were one shilling. In 1934 the Rev. W. Paton, M.A., delivered six lectures

on 'Religions of the World' dealing with Primitive Religion, Hinduism, Buddhism, Chinese Religion, Islam, and Christianity. Last autumn Dr. Kirk took as his subject 'The Making of the Gospels.'

Under the auspices of the University College, Nottingham, Professor J. G. McKenzie, M.A., B.D., has conducted a University Extension Course in 'Ethics and the Modern World' for the Newark Branch of the Workers' Educational Association. The ground covered included: The beginnings of moral life and moral conflict, Moral theory, The identification of the good with moral value, Psychology of moral action, The derivation of moral 'laws,' Moral progress, Application of moral theory to moral practice with a discussion of Driesch's Doctrine of Duties. For the Nottingham branch of the W.E.A., Professor H. F. Sanders, B.A., B.D., gave a University Extension Course on 'Philosophy and Religion.'

Other Universities and Colleges are doing similar work. But the question is whether we are sufficiently availing ourselves of these facilities. It would be interesting to have from readers information concerning other classes and lectures of this type.

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REASONED PAGANISM IN GERMANY. One might almost say that there had been an English invasion of Germany this summer! One tourist on the Rhine was heard to say: 'The place is simply swarming with them. You might as well not be in Germany!' Varied impressions will have been brought back. All will have been struck by the remarkably keen interest in sport. No one could fail to notice the many evidences of re-armament (including the notices in tram cars: 'Kampf der Gefahr'). But there were also unwelcome proofs that Dr. Garvie had not been overstating the facts when early this year he had written: 'There is an abundant literature advocating many varied types of paganism. . . . The churches of Germany are out on a very stormy sea.' I picked up from a railway book-stall, where it was prominently displayed, an eight page weekly called *Durchbruch*, published at Stuttgart and now in its third year—an organ of the German Faith Movement. 'We believe,' said one of its contributors, 'in the divine being of the world which wills and is able to come to conscious experience and life in man. But we do not believe in a Triune God, still less in Jehovah.' Its attitude to the Bible is shown on the one hand by its derision of the Genesis story of the Fall and on the other hand by its caustic comments on the eschatological sayings ascribed to Christ in the Synoptists. One was glad to see signs of popular antidotes being provided, including W. Florin's *Rosenberg's Myth and the Evangelical Faith*. But the query that would persist in one's mind was two-fold. How soon may we expect to find this same argumentative unfaith on English soil? And are we ready with a reasoned faith and a vital experience that could quickly overmatch the imported bane?

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Reports and comments may be sent to the writer at 10 Mainwaring Road, Lincoln.

W. E. FARNDAL.

THE METHODIST SACRAMENTAL FELLOWSHIP. To the Rev. K. Vaughan Jones, M.A., B.D., we are indebted for the following information. From the Bulletin No. 1 issued last January we learn that the objects of the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship are threefold—(1) The reaffirmation of the Faith that inspired the Evangelical Revival and the hymns of the Wesleys—the Faith that is formulated in the Nicene Creed. (2) Making the Holy Communion central in the life of the Methodist Church. (3) Reunion. Adhering to the principles of the Reformation, yet being convinced that the divisions of the Church Militant are becoming ever more clearly contrary to the will of God, the Fellowship works and prays for the corporate reunion of all believers. The president is the Rev. A. E. Witham. Membership is also open to laymen. A short Form of Morning and Evening Prayer is provided for daily use. The first and inaugural conference (after preliminary discussions in London, Southport and elsewhere) was held in Colwyn Bay from August 22 to 26, 1935, attended by fifteen ministers, eight laymen and ten women. The conference agreed that more definiteness was needed in theology. The warmed heart *per se* is mere subjectivism. In point of history it was the Holy Spirit convincing John Wesley of the truth of the theology of the Epistle to the Romans which illumined his soul. Definite theology must be the foundation of Christian experience and also of the prayer life as well as of all useful work in the Church. Without such a theology, prayer becomes unreal and labour barren. The conference was also concerned with the present place of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Methodism: it believed that the note of Evangelism amongst us has suffered by the relegation of this sacrament to a very subsidiary place. On the subject of Reunion, attention was paid to the main division of Christendom, namely that between Catholic and Protestant. The Fellowship realizes that any reunion movement which either flatly ignores this issue or assumes that it is in the nature of things insoluble, is burking the point of the challenge which our divisions lay upon us.

By January, 1936, the membership of the Fellowship stood at 166. The second Conference was held from April 17 to 20 at Kingsmead College, Selly Oak, Birmingham. The secretary states that for those who attended, and there were between fifty and sixty present, the week-end was one of hard work in the things that belong to the industry of heaven but there were rewards given which do not pass away. The Conference began on the Friday night with a paper by the Rev. A. E. Witham on 'The Devout Life' in which he made it clear that sustained and disciplined prayer is the mainspring of all Christian life and work. On Saturday the thought of the conference was enriched by two contributions from outside. Dr. W. F. Howard reminded the Fellowship of difficulties in its path and the need of care in working out its convictions. The other visitor was the Rev. Edward Leach, Vicar of Small Heath, Birmingham, who gave a lecture on 'The Christian Doctrine of God' and later answered questions.

Other sessions dealt with work in our Methodist Church, whether in town or country, and with Reunion as a dominant issue of our time for all Christians. In the discussion on Reunion, reference was made to the book recently published by Dr. W. Adams Brown, entitled, *Your Church and Mine*. Dr. Rattenbury in an address on 'Evangelism and Sacramentalism' showed that these stand together as essential and complementary aspects of the same Gospel: to set either against the other is to misrepresent the evangel. On Sunday morning divine worship included the full service of Holy Communion. The sermon was preached by the Rev. K. Vaughan Jones. The conference closed with another conversation on the Life of Prayer, introduced by Miss Wainwright, of Penrhos College. It may be added that the Fellowship suggests certain pamphlets to its members and others. Of those published by the Epworth Press we see included the following: *The Catholicity of Methodism*, by Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, and Dr. J. E. Rattenbury's *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*. By the S.P.C.K. are *A Sketch of a United Church* (4d.) and *The Grey Book: The Kingdom, the Power and the Glory—Prayers and Litanies*.

A TEXT BOOK ON CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

Christian Worship. Edited by Nathaniel Micklem. (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.)

THIS consists of a symposium of studies in the history and meaning of Christian Worship. The essays were collected in celebration of the Jubilee of Mansfield College, Oxford. The contributors have all been students or teachers at the College, and they have collaborated so successfully as to achieve a surprising unity.

The collection is arranged on three divisions—Biblical, Historical, and Contemporary Studies. There is a valuable introductory chapter by Dr. Garvie which opens with a pregnant sentence: 'The "Holy of Holies" of human personality is the personal relation of God and man—Thou and I: man's movement towards God, because of God's movement towards man, religion receiving and responding to revelation, the divine object known and felt as no less real than the human subject.' The last chapter on 'The Sacraments' by Nathaniel Micklem contains in its first paragraph the farther boundary of the book: 'It is God who calls and regenerates, He who comes and gives Himself to us, His action is first and last; our worship is but Antwort to His Wort, an answer to His Word.' Between those boundaries lies a sequence of balanced and lucid essays by some of the most distinguished English theologians. It is a valuable contribution to the systematic study of Christian Worship, and is much more satisfactory than the usual 'collection' of essays in the fact that its authors have obviously been in the closest collaboration. The third section, devoted to contemporary studies, presents a timely re-interpretation of the present position in the Reformed Churches.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Old Testament—A Reinterpretation. By Stanley A. Cook.
(S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.)

Dr. Cook has sought in this book to place the Old Testament 'upon the new background of our increasing knowledge of history and religion.' He has certainly succeeded in his attempt. Readers of this book will find new light resting upon many of the difficult problems of the Old Testament, and will be more able, than they were before reading it, to see the writings of the Old Testament in a true perspective. They will here see Israel in its relations with other nations, and realize what Israel owed to other peoples, and how they transmuted what they received, and gave to the ages to come the fruit of Ethical Monotheism. Dr. Cook writes most interestingly of the way in which the Hebrews thought concretely, and shows how important it is to understand that this was their way of writing and thinking. He points out that 'Hebrew has no empty or abstract terms. A "house" is rather a "household." As distinct from the empty space and time of the philosopher, "land" is especially the land as inhabited, and "for ever" means "permanently" rather than "eternally".' He shows that 'Hebrew thought is throughout practical and realistic,' and points out that "knowledge" involves also the power to act in accordance with it, whence the "knowledge of Yahweh" means, or rather, should mean, conformity to His will.' Dr. Cook, in discussing the language of the Hebrews, seeks to enter into their mind, and does so with no small success. We have found of great help Dr. Cook's comments on the Hebrew's method of thinking and his way of using words. It would have saved us a great deal of fierce controversy about the Old Testament, if all had realized the truth of Dr. Cook's words—'Palestine was a land of mixed peoples, and Old Testament history and religion extend over some busy ages. Hence Old Testament religion inevitably contains "higher" and "lower" ideas, ideas of permanent worth and ideas more in harmony with earlier or transient conditions of life and thought.'

We have found of great interest Dr. Cook's chapter on 'The Struggle for Ethical Monotheism.' It was, indeed, a stern struggle, but the result was worth all the heroic fightings of the prophets. It was the prophets who saw the central issue of the great fight. For they clearly understood that Yahweh was the one God whose rule was over all nations, and that He was an Ethical God. They gave richer, deeper, and fuller meaning to the word—Yahweh. They broke away from mere Nationalism, and gave to us the idea of an Ethical God of the Universe. As Dr. Cook says: 'Not the *name* Yahweh, but its *content* was what mattered, and Israel, clinging sometimes almost fanatically

to her exclusive national privileges, did not realize that in seeking to save her body she ran the risk of losing her soul.' These are timely words—not only as to the Old Testament, but also as to the situation amongst the nations of to-day. The old fight needs to be fought once more. We shall find guidance as to the limits of Nationalism in the noblest of the utterances of the prophets of Israel. We are greatly indebted to Dr. Cook for this book which sheds new light upon many problems of the Old Testament, and we unhesitatingly recommend it to our readers. The book concludes with a Chronological Summary, and with Biographical and other Notes. We heartily agree with Dr. Cook's concluding words, 'The Bible is an indivisible whole, and to rest content with either the Old Testament alone, or with the New Testament alone, is to lose the real inwardness of all that which makes the Bible the most remarkable book in the world.'

W. BARDSLEY BRASH.

The Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishna. By Samuel Rosenblatt, Ph.D. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press; London, Milford. 9s. net.)

This is the first part of a work which, when completed, should be of real and permanent value. An objective and critical examination of rabbinic exegesis of the Bible has never, until now, been attempted. In consequence, the casual reader of extra-canonical Jewish literature is apt to generalize from occasional examples of wondrously strange exegesis, and to conclude therefrom that it is all rather puerile. The provenance of the present work is sufficient guarantee of its scholarship. Dr. Rosenblatt begins with the Mishna because it is a manageable quantity. He hopes, in succeeding volumes, to continue his investigations into the other Tannaitic, and finally into the Amoraic literature. Tannaitic exegesis differed from our modern in several respects. For one thing, the Rabbis had no conception of development either in the language or the religious ideas of the Old Testament. It was axiomatic for them that the heroes of the olden time ordered their lives according to the completed Mosaic law. Even Abraham anticipated the Torah by keeping it entire. Nor did the Tannaim venture, except in a very minor and qualified degree, to amend the text. If they encountered a difficulty they endeavoured to explain it—in ways, perhaps, strange to us—not to deny that it existed by altering the text. Allowing for these reservations Dr. Rosenblatt shows that the exegetes of the Mishna may be said to have engaged in what would to-day be called literal exegesis. He examines the materials in relation to lexicography, grammar, critical observations on the Bible, and the exegetical methods employed. His conclusion is that 'the Tannaitic Bible expositors were by no means the quibblers or casuists they have often been said to be . . . on the contrary, their interpretation of the Bible, as reflected in the Mishna at least, was on the whole sober and sane and most of it could stand the test of modern criticism.' The book is exceedingly well-documented—almost one half of it consists

of notes of reference—and it seems difficult to gainsay the author's claim that 'the exegesis of the Bible in the Mishna deserves to be taken more seriously, not merely on account of its interest for the history of Bible exegesis but also as a valuable aid in the correct and critical understanding of Scripture to-day.'

C. R. NORTH.

The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy. (Gifford Lectures, 1931-1932.) By Étienne Gilson. Translated by A. H. C. Downes. (Sheed & Ward. 15s.)

Among the facile impertinences of the present day, there is perhaps none quite so flagrant as the attitude of reproach and contempt towards the Middle Ages. Writers in the popular Press regard anything as sufficiently discredited when they have labelled it 'medieval.' It is permissible to wonder what Dante, St. Thomas, Roger Bacon, and the architect, say, of the West Front of Rheims Cathedral, would think of the age of Hollywood, Jazz, the Crooner; of Mass Production and the cheap dogmatism of the daily newspaper! Among living scholars, none has done more to present a true conception of the Middle Ages than M. Étienne Gilson, the eminent professor of the Collège de France. It may be adduced as evidence of a juster appreciation of medievalism that the present book, with its continual references to St. Augustine, St. Anselm, St. Bonaventura, St. Thomas, should find a place in the famous series of *Gifford Lectures*. M. Gilson's thesis is, shortly, that the contribution of the Middle Ages to Philosophy was as noble and characteristic as its achievements in Literature and Art. While it would be absurd to talk of Christian Mathematics, Christian Biology or Christian Medicine, it is legitimate to speak of a Christian Philosophy. Medieval thinkers did not merely reproduce Plato and Aristotle; they transmuted them. 'Drawing inspiration from Plato and Aristotle, appealing to their principles, the Christian philosophers drew thence conclusions of which neither Plato nor Aristotle had ever dreamed, nay for which they could have found no place in their systems without ruining them.' There had to be Greek temples and Roman basilicas before there could be cathedrals, but no matter how much the medieval architects owed to their predecessors, their work is nevertheless distinctive. The new spirit that was creative in them was doubtless the same spirit that inspired the philosophers of the time. Between ourselves and the classical world, the Christian revelation has intervened, and has profoundly modified the conditions under which reason has to work. Further, we may say that modern philosophy reveals characteristics which it is impossible to explain unless we take into account that millennium of rational reflection that went on between the end of Hellenistic times and the beginning of the Renaissance. In other words, something happened in the world of thought, between the end of the Classical period, and the opening of modern times as precious and as Christian as the building of the Cathedrals. Christianity fructified

ancient thought. Philosophy in the Middle Ages, when it was withdrawn from Christian influences, issued in the sterility of Averroes. We may regret that Luther (furiously condemning 'Nature') and even Erasmus (in the flush of the New Learning) had so defective an appreciation of 'Scholasticism.' A Christian philosophy must always be inevitable so long as there are Christians, and Christians who think. Christianity as a Revelation must have intellectual adequacy (Truth) as well as dynamic effectiveness (Grace). The debt of the Middle Ages to the Greeks was immense and is fully recognized; but the debt of Hellenism to the Middle Ages is as great, and nothing is less appreciated. M. Gilson covers a wide field in investigating the subtle, yet far-reaching changes that the medieval thinkers introduced into the pre-Christian philosophical fabric. These lectures are not easy reading. The speculative doctrines and formulae of the great Medievalists are somewhat unfamiliar. Nevertheless, the thesis is beautifully argued—its quiet logical coherence becomes increasingly impressive. The chapter on 'Christian Optimism,' and the pages on Luther's attitude to medieval philosophy, are particularly noteworthy. The translator deserves a special word of thanks—the book runs as clearly and smoothly as an original version.

F.B.H.

The Hebrew Philosophical Genius. By Duncan Black Macdonald, M.A., D.D. (Princeton University Press and Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 11s. 6d.)

Dr. Macdonald holds that there was definite philosophical thinking among the Palestinian Hebrews, independent of Greek, or any other, philosophy. He finds the seeds of Hebrew Philosophy in the earliest and most fundamental of Hebrew conceptions, and strengthens his case by showing what actually did happen under Greek influence in the Alexandrine Wisdom of Solomon. The four characteristics of Hebrew Philosophy are: the Absolute is a Personality; the concept of Becoming, but not that of Being; 'in the world an ultimate reality called Life'; morality as a matter of intelligence. This leads to the discussion of Reason as the guide of Life, and so to the concept of Reason as personal and independent of God. There follow excellent studies of the Wisdom of Solomon, and of Plato's Laws in association with Ecclesiastes and Ben Sirach. We agree that there is no Greek influence in Job, and probably also none in Proverbs, not even in Proverbs viii, but if the author insists on Hebrew originality, he must consider the Egyptian Teaching of Amenemope and Proverbs xxii. 17-xxiii, and, in connexion with Ecclesiastes, Theognis, Isocrates, and the early Greek gnomic writers. We doubt whether Dr. Macdonald can legitimately find a theory of Becoming in Exodus iii. 14, which he holds to be a later interpolation, and make the Hebrews Heracleitans from the beginning, especially since elsewhere he holds that they were always Platonists. We have always considered that if one thing is clear about Hebrew thinking, it is that they definitely

approximated to the concept of Being as against that of Becoming. Again, we do not find the concept of Time in Ecclesiastes iii. 1. We scarcely think that Dr. Macdonald has vindicated the existence of Hebrew Philosophy in anything like the formal and systematic sense in which the phrase Greek Philosophy is commonly understood, but he has certainly established a sound case for independent Hebrew philosophizing. If a modern writer is to examine the fundamentals of ancient Hebrew thought, he must do substantially what Dr. Macdonald has done. At the same time, we are uneasy concerning the use of such modern words as 'personality' to describe the thought of long ago. Modern words have necessarily their modern background, and it is only with the most extreme care and with innumerable reservations that they can be applied to another thought-world. Notwithstanding these reservations, we have rarely read a book with more enjoyment and profit. It is freshly written, clear in expression, and its very challenges constitute its charm. The reader will certainly find his own thinking clarified, and he cannot fail to see new light.

N. H. SNAITH.

St. Mark's Gospel : Two Stages of its Making. By J. M. C. Crum. (Heffer. 6s.)

Canon Crum, whose book, *The Original Gospel of the Jerusalem Church*, is familiar to students of Gospel origins, has now suggested an explanation of the structure and history of the Second Gospel in *St. Mark's Gospel : Two Stages of its Making*. He has been led to this study by some of the conclusions of R. H. Lightfoot's Bampton Lectures, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*; conclusions which he in company with many others felt to be unsatisfactory. The idea of a *Grundschrift* which has been embellished by a later editor or editors is not new, but Canon Crum's theory is not based upon the suggestions of others but upon his own study of the Gospel. In this book he gives the evidence which has convinced him that there are two stages in the Gospel, as we know it. There is an early writing (Mark I) which tells in a simple way the story of the Ministry and Passion of Jesus of Nazareth, a story the climax of which is Peter's confession, Thou art the Messiah. It was the outcome of Mark's association with Peter, and was written for the Church in Rome sometime before A.D. 60. Mark II, as Canon Crum calls the second stage of the making of the Gospel, is more theological, and reflects the thought of the Church about the Person of the Lord in the year A.D. 65 in Rome. For this writer the climax of the story is, This is my Beloved Son, hear ye Him. This belongs to the more reflective age of the Church, when men were not content with hearing the story, but were asking 'what does it mean?' The writer of Proto-Mark shews no sign of Pauline influence, the author of Mark II in thought and vocabulary has come under the influence of Paul, the Paul whose teaching has reached the stage reflected in the Travel group of Epistles. This theory Canon Crum supports by a careful account of the names used

by Christians of our Lord, and by an interesting examination of the vocabulary of the two stages in which the Greek words are transliterated into English. It is impossible in a brief notice to offer detailed criticism, but apart from the theory itself there are two points which will not commend themselves to all. The author is convinced that Mark II used Q, and that the use of the title, Son of Man, is not primitive but secondary.

F. B. CLOGG.

The Grace of God in Faith and Philosophy. [By Leonard Hodgson. (Longmans, Green & Co. 6s.)

Here are the Bishop Paddock Lectures for 1936. Canon Hodgson, who is secretary of the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order, has chosen a subject that demands a well-prepared and carefully considered background. Realizing this, he is under the necessity of referring regularly to his former book, *Essays in Christian Philosophy*, which, it would appear, must be consulted before the reader can hope to understand the full implications of this work. But this present book is by no means scrappy, nor yet negligible. Indeed, it has strength and impressiveness, due, no doubt, to the author's keen and independent search for a Christian philosophy of life. At the outset, Canon Hodgson argues the need of philosophy as well as of faith in Christian experience and understanding. Indeed, faith itself must philosophize, and must do it correctly. For the doctrine of grace can be, and sometimes is, subject to a defective philosophy. In this connexion, advocates of both Predestination and Pelagianism are challenged. Faith, therefore, must issue in a Christian philosophy which holds as its central truth that Jesus Christ is the clue to the understanding of history and of the nature of the universe. Much the most important part of the book is taken up with this significant matter, though there are interesting comments on different interpretations of the meaning of grace, particularly as between the Catholic and Protestant points of view. Naturally, too, questions arise concerning grace and human freedom. But it is in reference to man and the universe that the problem of grace becomes most difficult. Here Canon Hodgson is downright and challenging, criticizing absolute idealism on the one hand and, on the other hand, strongly advocating the claims of Transcendentalism. The universe, he asserts, is a one way process, and the raw material for the further creation of a community of persons whose perfection is to be their life of personal communion with God, and with this is linked the troublesome problem of individuality and freedom. Canon Hodgson courageously faces the issue. He believes that there is an element of genuine contingency in the universe as well as a possibility of evil, and that this in no wise detracts from an acceptance of logical self-consistency and authenticating goodness in the Creator. The universe, in fact, reveals irrationalities, yet such irrationalities are the conditions of human freedom. Grace is necessary because freedom

has been abused. This is the sin from which man cannot save himself: he needs grace. But how does man respond? Shall it be ascribed to divine predestination or to human freewill? Thus right to the end of this well-written and thoughtful book the subject is thoroughly probed. More questions are raised than are answered and most of them would appear to be due to an over-emphasis of the doctrine of Transcendentalism.

T. W. BEVAN.

The Hope of Immortality. By W. R. Matthews, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. (Student Christian Movement Press, 2s. 6d.)

In simple and untechnical terminology, as befits a series of Broadcast addresses, the Dean of St. Paul's gives abundant matter for thought. The preface states that the correspondence which the talks brought forth was overwhelming in bulk. No wonder. The subject is perennially interesting. Absorbed with temporal matters, a man may put it aside for a time. When he is perforce brought face to face with the mystery of death its stark imperativeness will not be gainsaid. If a man die, shall he live again? Dr. Matthews is profoundly convinced, as many of us are, that the answer we give largely depends upon belief in God. Arguments, which detached from belief in God are rather bloodless, are charged with power when attached to a firm belief in God. Theism, after all, is the question of questions. Speaking definitely as a believer, Dr. Matthews turns to the arguments which support the idea of immortality. There is the remarkable evidence of universal belief. If this be countered by the objection that many moderns have no intuition of immortality nor any desire for it, he regards this mental state as abnormal, due to an artificial mode of life—a phase that will pass. Sharply drawn is the distinction between the naïve notion of immortality as a mere survival of death—a series of to-morrows and to-morrows—and the more developed idea of the preservation of values. What is it in man that is immortal? Reason? Memory? Personality? The problem of the relation of mind and body is relevant. Materialism is the only theory that definitely rules out the possibility of survival, and Materialism leads to such fantastic conclusions that most minds reject it. But if the mind is not a mere shadowy by-product of the body we have advanced a considerable distance in the way of accepting the existence of a reality that may survive the death of the body. Even Parallelism has to face the necessity for finding a reason for the extraordinary correlation between the events of the mind and the events of the body which it allows. The mutual reaction of mind and body, the simplest theory, seems best to fit the facts. Telepathy seems to indicate that mind can communicate with mind apart from the usual sense agencies. The results of Psychical Research present considerations better explained by the assumption of survival than by any alternative interpretation. Turning to *a priori* arguments Dr. Matthews reviews Plato's 'simplicity' of the soul, the dictum that the inconceivable cannot be true, Kant's moral

argument, and the proposition that in a rational universe the undeveloped wealth of life cannot remain a 'might have been.' Turning to the Christian position it is apparent that Dr. Matthews is attracted by the doctrine of universal salvation, but cannot set aside a conviction that 'the dignity of man demands that he should be capable of being damned.' Hell is complete separation from God. Heaven is an environment in which our highest nature can find its full development. Deprecating the word 'purgatory,' the author is nevertheless drawn to the conception of progressive purification. Paul's 'spiritual body' is interpreted as a garment and instrument we weave for ourselves by our wills and our deeds. This book would hardly convert the determined sceptic, but it will considerably help the earnest seeker who has the will to believe but who needs reasoned ground to support his faith.

ERNEST BARRETT.

Hermetica. Edited with English Translation and Notes. By Walter Scott. Vol. IV, *Testimonia*. With Introduction, Addenda, and Indices by A. S. Ferguson. (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 30s. net.)

With this instalment a great work comes to an end. The *Hermetica* comprise a considerable body of ancient Greek and Latin writings that contain, apart from much occultist matter, religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. This Hermes was actually the Egyptian god Thoth, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes (Mercury). The chronology is uncertain, but it is generally agreed that the writings were produced in Egypt during the first three centuries A.D., perhaps towards the latter part of the period. Interest in this literature was revived in 1904 by the publication of Reitzenstein's *Poimandres*. The late Walter Scott has provided an elaborate edition in four massive volumes (1924-36), which give the texts of the *Corpus* and kindred Hermetic writings along with textual apparatus, introduction, translation, and commentary. The present volume (as also volume III) owes much to Professor A. S. Ferguson of Aberdeen, who has contributed an introduction, addenda taking account of recent work, and full indices. Mr. Scott's material in this final part consists in a series of *Testimonia* with explanatory notes. Especially valuable for the religious and philosophic vocabulary are Professor Ferguson's indices of Greek and Latin words. Caution is called for in respect of the text, which Mr. Scott has drastically emended at many points. But the whole work attests the patient industry, wide erudition, and critical resource of its author, and the four volumes are likely to remain for many years a storehouse of authoritative information for those interested in 'thrice-great Hermes.' The name of the Clarendon Press is sufficient guarantee that the format and printing are entirely worthy. The religion of the Hermetic writers is eclectic in character, but presents a lofty ethical monotheism. This raises the question of its possible affinities with Jewish and Christian teaching. In this regard students interested in the relation between the theological documents in the

Corpus Hermeticum and Hellenistic Judaism as reflected in the Septuagint (there seem to be no certain traces of Christian influence as such on the *Hermetica*) will do well to turn also to Professor C. H. Dodd's book, *The Bible and the Greeks*. H. G. MEECHAM.

Motive and Method in a Christian Order—*Fernley-Hartley Lecture*, 1936. By Sir Josiah Stamp, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.Sc., F.B.A. (Epworth Press. 6s.)

To read this book is for the sincere preacher of the Gospel a wholesome disciplinary exercise. It begins by stating that the pulpit of to-day does not content itself with its ancient limits. It expounds social development, and in such exposition necessarily possesses an authority derived from spiritual aims. The preacher is constantly being urged to 'give a lead.' It is not altogether his fault that he becomes enthusiastic without having earned the right to such vigorous declamation. Sir Josiah Stamp deliberately directs his essay to 'the younger generation of preachers.' If we know anything about them—and it happens that we do—they will have quite a lot to say about its thesis. It is a provocative book, but it is a wise and generous book. It is written by a man who knows young preachers very well, and who listens to them not only patiently, but even with gratitude and an amazing humility.

Profound as it is, it never gives one the impression of being a 'tour de force' by a great economist. Its author is too many-sided and too scrupulously fair to belabour beginners, or uninformed enthusiasts. He is too desperately sincere to juggle with words or theories. Whether one agrees with the main thesis of the lecture or not, one is conscious that it is written by a man with a real 'concern' for the preachers of to-day. It would be a prejudiced and superficial critic who contented himself with saying that Sir Josiah has erected a barrier beyond which the ordinary preacher must not go. He has taken great pains to expound the normal function of the preacher, as it appears to him, and one must agree that, if in the pulpit the preacher decides to deal with what is glibly called the social application of the Gospel, he should prepare himself by the most careful and scientific study of his subject.

After discussing the scope of ethics and economics, Sir Josiah reaches his first conclusion that 'practical proposals must combine both.' He says, in a paragraph which some of his earliest and most eager critics seem to have missed: 'I would not make every preacher a technical economist or sociologist. But I would not warn any earnest amateur off the problems of economic society and assert that they are too involved for him. I would impress upon him that there are elements in them which depend upon him to a vital extent, and to which he can make an immense contribution, just as there are elements upon which he ought not to be pontifical without a mental discipline as severe as the human mind can endure, and that subjugation of his personal wishes which is a Christian surrender indeed.' Though Sir

Josiah thinks of the preacher as the specialist in motive and the economist as the specialist in method, one must not jump hastily to the conclusion that they are permanently and inevitably separated.

The first chapter, like all its successors full of challenging statements, deals with 'Christianity and Economics in the Past' and ends with the author's interesting 'Credo': 'I am old-fashioned enough to believe that the value of Christianity consists in the case of a single man raised from sin to conquest, from fullness to moral strength, from meanness to beauty, rather than in a "clear programme" of action for unemployment or exchange control. I am also old-fashioned enough to believe that, however well the world evolves, there will always be new problems created by human relationships, for which Christianity at any given moment will have no "clear programme," but I do not think Christianity will therefore be a perpetual failure.'

In the next section there is a brilliant discussion of 'Motive in the Economic Life,' and this is followed by a careful examination of the 'Christian Motive.' When Sir Josiah reaches the problem of values he defines three claims for the betterment of valuations: 'first, the individual in his own judgement of what life means; second, the emulation and expectation created in the environment; and, third, the nature of the machine.' Whilst he contends that the preacher finds his opportunity in the first, and a duty in the second, he calls a halt in the third claim. To urge 'changes in technical organization whose essential needs are pitched far beyond the average motives of the mass of men' is to court failure. Unless the human will has reached a stage comparable with the new demands upon character, the Church, he feels, should hesitate 'to give promissory notes to social revolutions.' At the same time it may 'sponsor social betterment.' One can imagine that this section of the book will call forth considerable opposition, and perhaps loud protest, but before one raises one's voice it would be well to go back and read the chapter a second time.

It is not easy to accept the statement that Christian teaching has its great value in the realm of motive and gives little or no guidance on method, but it must be carefully considered in the approach to a discussion of method. Sir Josiah states what he conceives to be the defects of the Competitive system, and proceeds to a vigorous criticism of the ethics of Communism and of Social Credit.

In conclusion it is stated that 'conversion' must be followed by an educative process. The preacher has, here, an intellectual and spiritual task, which will aim at better thinking and more sacrificial service. A better order depends on character and machinery, or on motive and method. The preacher is the expert in motive, the economist in method, but the Church might develop its own experts—not dabblers in 'economics without tears' but men who are prepared to risk headache and heartache in the process of acquiring the necessary knowledge and applying it in human life.

This is an important book, written with great courage and addressed directly to the very people who might be expected to resent its impli-

cations. It should be read not once, but several times, before one rises up to condemn it, even then if your verdict is adverse, you will have learnt much by sifting the evidence, and to that extent its author will have achieved his purpose.

One of the most valuable features of Sir Josiah's contribution is the carefully-conceived economic canon of the New Testament which he has appended.

Economics and God. By Malcolm Spencer. (S.C.M. Press. 4s. Paper covers 2s. 6d.)

Few men have done more than Malcolm Spencer to rouse the conscience of the Christian World to the vital importance of an economic creed which shall be in harmony with the fundamental principles of their faith. Always moderate in expression and well-balanced to the point of a carefulness which has at times seemed to err on the side of toleration, he has in recent years been urged on by the tremendous issues involved to a more drastic presentation of the case he has so long and so chivalrously espoused. In diagnosing the present position of trade, Mr. Spencer makes a point which is too often overlooked in the popular Press, viz. : that if increased trade for this country involves the commercial downfall of foreign rivals, we may by our very improvement be creating conditions which will lead to conflict. To the Christian Economist national welfare must not involve Foreign decline. Recovery is only stable when it is world-wide. Furthermore, he is under no delusion as to the 'improvement' caused directly or indirectly by the increased activity of armament manufacturers. Industrial prosperity which is dependent on war and preparations for war, at the best is but temporary. At the worst it is unspeakably horrible. Consequently he is led irresistibly to the conclusion that there is some inherent defect in our present economic practice, and until this defect be detected and eliminated, true prosperity eludes us and war-clouds will continue to blacken the horizon. The choice before us is—either to let our economics strangle our religion and to declare Christianity to be a dead-letter so far as industrial matters are concerned, or to call a halt to this policy of materialism with its inevitable conflicts, and to make our Christian principles regulative in the realm of economics and politics. Nothing can prevent world catastrophe save that in our economic thinking we are really converted to God. During recent years these facts have been recognized by all kinds of Church Congresses. Manifesto after manifesto has been issued to proclaim the Christian Way of Life; but, asks Mr. Spencer, '*Has anyone repented?*' Vague confessions of industrial sin are not enough. In this book he deals in a masterly fashion with those elements in our economic life of which we have need to repent, and he states with unmistakable clarity the new ways of thought and practice to which the Christian Community is called. If the Church evades this challenge, there seems very little hope for the world. Happily the present disposition of Methodism is not only to repent, but to (we say it with bated breath) bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

We hope the book will have the wide circulation it undoubtedly merits, and we commend it very heartily to every member of our 'Youth and Citizenship Movement.' It expresses not an unapproachable ideal, but the irreducible minimum. It will not only stir the Christian conscience: it will guide it, too.

PERCY S. CARDEN.

An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library. By C. H. Roberts, M.A. (Manchester University Press. 2s. 6d.)

Following closely upon the publication last year by H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat of the *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, acquired by the British Museum, has come the publication by C. H. Roberts of—*An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library*. The fragment consists of St. John xviii, vers. 31-33 on one side, and vers. 37-38 on the other. It is probable that the home of this fragment was Oxyrhyncus, already famous as the source whence Grenfell and Hunt unearthed so many valuable papyri—among others the *Sayings of Jesus*. The importance of this, the earliest Christian writing we possess, is twofold. It is a fragment of a codex, and is therefore additional evidence that the papyrus codex, as distinguished from the papyrus roll, was in use in Christian circles in the second century. But that is not all. The editor has shewn good reasons for believing that it was written in the first half of the second century—a judgement in which Kenyon, Schubart and Bell concur. That means that the Fourth Gospel was already in existence in Egypt before A.D. 150; and from that the editor rightly deduces that the Gospel itself, if, as we have good reason to believe, it was written in and for the Church in Ephesus, was written not later than the last decade of the first or the first decade of the second century. It is not necessary to stress the importance of this conclusion. The John Rylands Library is to be congratulated on possessing such a treasure; and the editor has earned the gratitude of all students of the New Testament for the skill with which he has carried out his task.

F.B.C.

St. Paul: the Man and the Teacher. By C. Anderson Scott. (Cambridge University Press. 5s.)

Dr. Anderson Scott has won a unique place among modern scholars as an interpreter of St. Paul, and his latest book, *St. Paul: the Man and the Teacher*, will be warmly welcomed by the many who acknowledge the author as one of the foremost New Testament scholars of our time. The book is divided into three parts. The first gives an account of the Apostle's life and character from a skilful interweaving of the relevant passages in the Acts and Epistles. The second part is an exposition of St. Paul's teaching, simple in its style but profound in its judgement; for behind the exposition is the rich store of

knowledge which was revealed more fully in the author's larger book, *Christianity according to St. Paul*. The third part is a selection of extracts from the Acts and Epistles which illustrate the most significant facts in the Apostle's life and teaching. To the extracts from the Epistles are added footnotes which give alternative renderings, or brief but illuminating comments. In a book of this size the author rightly states his own conclusions upon disputed points without giving the reasons which have led him to those conclusions. Not all will agree with some of these conclusions, e.g. about the early date of Galatians, but all will be grateful for so vivid a portrait of the Apostle and so lucid an exposition of the vital points of his teaching and of its meaning for us to-day.

F.B.C.

A Greek Papyrus Reader. Edited by Edgar J. Godspeed & Ernest Cadman Colwell. (University of Chicago Press; Cambridge University Press. 7s. net.)

The editors, the former of whom has had over thirty years' experience in editing Greek papyri, have made what is, so far as we are aware, a new departure in the publication of a Greek Papyrus Reader for students. It is designed to give the student a first hand acquaintance of those documents, knowledge of which is becoming more and more indispensable to the study of the New Testament. No translation is provided, but there is a short summary at the beginning of each selection, and a concise vocabulary at the end of the book. No attempt is made to produce a 'correct' text, but with the aid of notes and suggestions, every endeavour is made to help the student, who is new to this kind of study, without doing all the work for him. There are eighty-two selections in all, each one of them a complete document, except for four extracts from very long magical papyri. The texts range from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., and are representative of every phase of life. Altogether an excellent idea, and excellently planned.

N. H. SNAITH.

The Living Fountain. By Karl Heim. (T. & T. Clark. 5s. net.)

The translator of eleven of Karl Heim's sermons, now published in this country under the above title, has done the Church a great service. All who are familiar with Karl Heim's larger books will anticipate great 'central' preaching, and they will not be disappointed. That is not to say that they will always be satisfied with matters of interpretation and treatment. To expect that these should make universal appeal is not reasonable, especially in a preacher of marked individuality. But there is something of more importance which will be found here. It is the authentic voice of the prophet. Karl Heim is sure of God and his preaching is grandly objective preaching. Moreover, his assurance is experiential as well as dogmatic. He has been through

the deeps and emerged with strong faith and clear vision. And he is close to the need of his time. He has his finger on the pulse of present-day humanity and reads it unerringly. His gospel is a true ministry to its condition. Nevertheless he is insistent upon that in God which passes man's understanding and demands his faith. He contends that many great things come our way only when God has taken the ground from beneath our feet and left us nothing but our trust in Him. These great issues of the spirit are here treated with a fine artistry that is always effective and never obtrusive, manifest not least in the felicitous choice and use of matter to illustrate the preacher's high themes. W.G.L.

The Epistle to the Hebrews; its Sources and Message. By V. Burch, D.D. (Williams & Norgate. 5s. net.)

Dr. Burch holds that the Epistle throughout is essentially Hebrew, and was written to Semites in Antioch. He will have nothing to do with any Alexandrian influences, with Philo least of all, and deprecates any suggestion of Platonic influence. Indeed, he tends on occasion to pour scorn on modern interpreters who follow in the old Greek way. The Origins of the Epistle are held to be in Jewish Apocalypse and in the Jewish lectionary system of Pentateuch, Prophets, and Psalms. There is special association with the Macca-bees, and this forms a link with Antioch. It is a spiritualizing of the whole of the Jewish Cult, not only Temple, Priest, and Sacrifice, but even of liturgy, and praise, and prayer. We are prepared to go a long way with Dr. Burch in discounting literary dependence on Philo, but we do not see how he can escape from allowing the same kind of attitude to the old Jewish ideas, nor can we follow him in his attitude to Plato. The author's claim with regard to the Jewish lectionary system deserves careful consideration. This may well have influenced the form of the Epistle. The lectionary system has had, we believe, very much more influence than is commonly realized. We have found the book difficult to read because of a strange abruptness and 'allusiveness' in the style. N. H. SNAITH.

Sense and Thought: A study in Mysticism. By Greta Hort, M.A., Ph.D. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

THE scope of this book is better indicated by its sub-title than by its title. Even so its scope is in reality narrower than would appear. It is a study of the mysticism of a specific treatise: *The Cloud of Unknowing*, an anonymous mystical classic of the fourteenth century. It is a sympathetic study that manages to survey a pretty wide field, and is at once patient and very thorough. The book opens with a chapter entitled 'Preliminary.' In this Miss Hort describes and analyses two superficially dissimilar experiences that are yet fundamentally akin. They yield for her a sufficiently acceptable account of the essentially mystical experience. For Miss Hort the mystical experience is characteristically a 'whole experience.' It is an experience,

that is, wherein reality is confronted or apprehended synoptically rather than discursively or partially. It is 'vision' rather than 'analysis.' It is an experience compounded of both 'sense' and 'thought'—the sensuous element being as significant and characteristic as the intellectual element. It is an experience in which one both knows, and knows that one knows; and from which and in which one gathers rest, peace and strength. In evaluating the experience it is not always easy or possible to say where experience ends and interpretation begins. But that does not compel the conclusion that the mystic's assertions and claims are sheerly fatuous and his 'object' illusory. It only indicates the need for care in scrutinizing claims and assertions. Against this background—after a brief description of *The Cloud of Unknowing* itself (a book of quiet serenity and sober common sense and sound psychological insight)—Miss Hort sketches in careful analyses of certain of the main features of mysticism as a mode of experience, and the mystic way as a way of life. Her chapters on 'The Naked Intent of the Will,' 'Necessary Connections,' 'Love of God,' 'The Mystic Way,' 'Ecstasy,' 'Conception of God,' are all of them good reading. In such a brief review as this detailed discussion is impossible. But this is a good book, written in an easy style and treating of familiar things in a pleasantly fresh way.

J. E. STOREY.

The Great Galilean Returns. By Henry Kendall Booth.
(Scribners. 6s.)

The renaissance of Jesus and His Gospel is one of the impressive features in modern life and literature. Jesus has suddenly become 'news.' In this book an effort is made to account for the 'loss' and subsequent rediscovery of Jesus, to show in logical sequence the forces that remanded the Gospel to oblivion, and to face the challenges involved. Thus it is hoped men will be set free from selfishness and the social order be governed by justice and goodwill. Capitalism, Industrialism and Nationalism have challenged the old faith and are surprised at the unexpected vitality that it still holds. The book concludes with a programme of the Kingdom for the life of to-day in which the rediscovered Gospel summons the Church to a new crusade of justice, goodwill and peace. The book is written in seven sections. These discuss the background, the Gospel of Jesus, the later conflict of ideals, then the eclipse, oblivion and subsequent rediscovery of the Great Galilean. The final chapter deals with the new reformation of the faith. The redemptive work of Christ in the heart of the individual is not a narrowing of the Gospel as the author claims but the rock upon which all returns, rediscoveries and reformations must rest. Dr. Booth's programme of reform seems to have obliterated Christ's Gospel of salvation. The mechanism of the writer's argument is in great evidence throughout the book. Headings, divisions and sections bewilder rather than help the reader. In the final chapter the writer gives a belated recognition to the fact that the rediscovered Gospel finds its real response in the individual life.

Prophet and Priest in Old Israel. By A. C. Welch, D.D.
(S.C.M. 4s. 6d.)

The Emeritus Professor of Hebrew at New College, Edinburgh, has added to his conspicuous service in the study of the Old Testament, a new volume, *Prophet and Priest in Old Israel*. This book is marked by individual thinking and real scholarship, and is intelligible to the average modern reader, for while technical terms occur they do not predominate. The theme of the study is the relation between the prophetic and priestly elements in Old Testament religion. By good evidence Dr. Welch proves that they were complementary rather than contradictory. It is clear that the prophetic message was preserved by the priestly editors and that the prophets, no less than the priests, were the steadfast upholders of a tradition which was, through neglect, in danger of passing. The prophets differed in method and inferences, but their object was not the creation of a new cult but a continued loyalty to the great traditions embodied in the work of the priests. To both, Israel, then and now, owes the maintenance of that distinctive note which has insured the permanence of its faith. This book is a worthwhile addition to the preacher's library.

Our Faith in God. By W. R. Matthews. (Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d.)

This excellent little book is of the quality expected from the Dean of St. Paul's. It is the first volume of a new series to be known as the Diocesan Series, of which it is proposed to issue one volume each year in readiness for use in the autumn. They will be published under the authority of an advisory council of Bishops and scholars of the Established Church; with the aim of promoting a clearer and more united mind in the Church concerning the fundamental truths of the Christian Religion and practice of the Christian life, and so equip Christians for more effective life and service, and at the same time do something to correct the serious and widespread ignorance of the teachings of the Christian faith. The design of the series is further to make them useful for personal reading and for use in discussion groups. They will expound the central affirmations of Christianity in a simple and readable way, with the aim of clarifying and strengthening the faith of the Christian in the modern world. If the standard set by this first volume is maintained a very effective service should be rendered. This book deals with the Christian's belief about God in a concise and arresting form. There are seven chapters dealing with such aspects of the subject as: Religion and Belief in God, The Hebrew Conception of God, Personality in God, The Love of God, and Evil, and an arresting chapter on the Revelation of God in Christ.

W. G. THORNAL BAKER.

Speaking of Religion. By Bruce Curry. (Scribners. 6s. net.)

Dr. Curry is introduced as a successful speaker to thousands of college students in the U.S. and Canada. He encounters young men who are contemptuous of the 'old time religion.' It was good enough

for their fathers but it is not by any means good enough for them. American students seem to have had considerable doses of Humanism from many able advocates, and, it is interesting to deduce, Humanism is not good enough either. Humanism tells them that there cannot any longer be a religion, but it is important to adopt a 'religious attitude' or society will deteriorate. Evidently we are in for a new mysticism! The students want something more solid. So Dr. Curry makes a new division of religion. The 'old time religion' is 'low religion.' The new time religion is 'high religion.' In this book he preaches the 'high.' He strives to declare a faith that will meet Kirsopp Lake's desire for 'a religion which will satisfy the soul of a saint without disgusting the intellect of the scholar.' As long as the scholar will repress his unruly intellect and not introduce too many 'buts' he will find in this book, presented persuasively and in an easily readable manner, the 'high religion,' which, we are told, attracts the American students and wins them back to faith.

ERNEST BARRETT.

Meditations on the Cross. By Toyohiko Kagawa. (S.C.M. 5s.)

The story of Kagawa is an addendum to the Acts of the Apostles. The privations of Paul as revealed in his Epistles are echoed in the persecutions and perils of Kagawa. This Japanese leader is a novelist, a journalist and a saint in whom imagination and literary art are fused into a passion for souls. In these meditations the author is at the centre of things. His approach is by the Japanese road, but the Cross stands at the end of that way as of every other. The revelation of the Crucified seen through Eastern eyes is as clear and compelling as our own conception. The secret of the Cross and its place in the consciousness and mind of Christ and His apostles is found by the careful searcher. Calvary, in this book, clarifies the truth, demonstrates the fine art of death, and links social, ethical, religious and daily life into one mighty power for the saving of the world. A study of this volume, written as it is from an unusual standpoint, will compel readers to face both Christ and His claim to obedience in every realm of life. The book owes much to the careful translations of Miss Helen Topping, Miss Marion Draper and Rev. P. G. Price.

A Life and a Living. By Harry Thomas Stock. (New York: The Abingdon Press. \$1.00.)

This is a study of the subject of vocation and vocational guidance from the Christian standpoint. It claims that the Church can meet a great need by providing intelligent and tactful leaders, through whose comradeship young people may be helped in making wise choices. The book indicates that much valuable work is being done in some American colleges and universities to assist in the choice of careers. There are psychological tests, questionnaires and medical examinations by which special interests and aptitudes are revealed. Yet the author stresses that vocational guidance can never be an exact science. While the mechanical technique has value, a spiritual

adviser is still required. The point of departure in giving counsel to a young person is to encourage that in all areas of life the Gospel of Jesus shall be accepted as supreme. As vocation is an important phase of life, so the decision for it must be a Christian one. The author does not visualize a vocation specialist in the Church, but he gives valuable suggestions for the pastor and others who deal with young people. While it is in the realm of motives that the religious leader will have his unique function, yet the Church must not think that its duty ends when ideals have been inspired. 'It must provide a technique by which the young person moves wisely from where he is to where he ought to go.' A useful bibliography is added. Great use ought to be made of this book by the Methodist Youth and Christian Citizenship Movement.

W. R. CHAPMAN.

Taking Hold of God. By Samuel M. Zwemer. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 3s. 6d.)

Professor Zwemer dedicates these excellent studies in the nature, need and power of prayer, to 'my colleagues in the Mission Field.' The brief chapters are replete with evidences of wide reading on the subject, and are endowed on every page with a deep devotional spirit. Among the aspects of prayer illuminated are its antiquity and universality, the place and posture of prayer, prayer and missions, and the prayers of Paul. The whole study is based on the firm belief that heaven is near to earth; and that prayer is an attitude as well as a practice. For prayer is 'impossible in a godless universe or a Christless Christianity.' Prayer is the 'highest expression of the human intellect.' The whole theme is considered and illustrated in the assurance that prayer is the dynamic of the Christian life. 'When man lays hold on God, God lays hold of man.' The great names in the history of the Church up to our own times are brought into the service of enforcing the truth that 'prayer is the Christian's vital breath.' The last chapter considers the prayer-life of our Lord. In the light of that prayer-life we learn the nature, need and power of prayer.

Rebel Religion. By B. C. Plowright. (Allenson. 5s. net.)

The paper jacket of this book is startling and has a considerable eye-to-business; it is of the fiery book-stall variety and is calculated to catch the eye from a considerable distance. It will have the merit of causing some to look at the contents page and then they might decide to proceed further to find out something of what that page means. For there, you find chapters on: 'Tower of Babel,' 'Chopping Logic,' 'Dynamite and Curl-papers.' Such titles will not encourage some to read this book who are most in need of its tonic quality. Mr. Plowright, who is Minister of a Congregational Church, is to be congratulated on such a virile, well-informed study of the forces which are hostile to the Church, and the consequent position, as he sees it, in the challenge presented by Communism and Fascism to Christianity. This is a downright review of the forces contending for world-dominion, and the message and position of the Church in relation to them, and deserves.

to be widely read. It is a plea for the Church to awake 'from its lethargy and take seriously its Gospel.' That the Church's business is to save the soul in its completeness by coming down to the daily life of the people and 'bringing God into the market place.' Finally, this book demands that the Church shall stand for an 'entirely new order of economic and political life,' as the only way of completing its soul-saving work.

The Idea of the Holy. By Rudolf Otto. (Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

The new series of books known as 'The Oxford Bookshelf' promises to be of great value to the discriminating reader who is anxious to obtain a library of works which have won the approval of distinguished critics. It is no small achievement to have included so notable a book as Rudolf Otto's *The Idea of the Holy* in an excellently printed and extremely well bound form for the remarkably low price of three shillings and sixpence. If such possibilities be extended there can be no longer any excuse for saying that modern theological works are too expensive for the average reader. It is needless to add that this book is already a classic, and that every theological student should possess a copy to read and re-read.

Religion in Plain Clothes. By Rev. W. H. Elliott. (Ivor Nicholson & Watson. 2s. 6d. net.)

Whether in the pulpit, at the microphone or in the Press, Canon Elliott has always a vital message, tersely phrased, interesting and intelligible to the average man and woman. Those who read his earlier volume, *Your Better Self*, will be glad to secure its successor. The subjects with which the author deals sound commonplace enough. That is part of their value; they are our own problems, but there is nothing commonplace about their treatment. We cannot imagine Canon Elliott writing a line or uttering a word in public if he had not a message. All his work is marked by sincerity and urgency. One of the most arresting chapters in this little book answers the question, 'Are You Getting Stale?' To read it is a tonic. One ceases to make excuses, or to talk in tones of self-pity. One ceases to be stale!

The Precepts of the Church and other Papers. By Bernard Clements, O.S.B. (Longmans. 2s. 6d. net.)

With commendable lucidity this book deals with attendance at Mass, receiving the Holy Communion, going to Confession, fasting in Lent and abstaining from meat on Fridays, upholding the Church's Marriage Law, and giving to the support of the Church and Ministry. Given the Anglo-Catholic premises, a Christian's 'duties' are plain enough. But which Church does Dom Bernard really speak for, that of England or Rome? After the 'Precepts' come expositions, beautifully done, of two Catholic hymns: one, of the 'Veni, Creator,' helpful to us all; the other, of 'Hail, Mary!' convincing to 'Catholics' only. F. F.

The Christ of Experience. By Beatrice Ferguson. (Longmans. 6s. net.)

This is an attempt to construct a philosophy of redemption in harmony with modern intellectual culture. God is manifested in Jesus Christ. His transcendent personality is the meeting-place of God and man. Here, also, is the goal of the universe. The experience of the higher self follows constant experiment in Christian values. The argument ranges over wide territories. Some rhetoric could be spared. It is a book that will attract those who are indifferent to formal theology.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

O Men of God. By Canon B. Iddings Bell. (Longmans, Green & Co. 2s. 6d.)

The relation of religion to science is gradually becoming more clearly defined. Old hostilities are ceasing and many people are beginning to realize that science is the handmaid to faith. In a remarkable book by Canon B. Iddings Bell there is a statement which says: 'Whereas in 1900, or thereabouts, it was assumed by many leading thinkers that science could give an adequate knowledge of the universes, without the aid of an interpreting faith of any sort, very few scientists of repute would defend that position to-day.' Science describes phenomena, but value and meaning and the interpretation of experience are outside its province. As Canon Bell says, 'the medium of the world is a cross—His cross and ours.' This book is an inspiration to those who are seeking the Christian interpretation of life to-day.

A Group of Devotional Books.

Four devotional studies have been added by Messrs. Marshall, Morgan & Scott to their shilling series. *Full Salvation*, by J. A. Broadbelt, is a book of addresses that breathe the fervour that has marked the ministry of the Principal of Cliff College. Each chapter offers an experiment in the religious life which has proved effective in the pulpit, and will be equally so when read. *The Upward Calling*, by F. C. White, B.D., is a volume of sermons whose keynote is the four-fold interpretation of certain great truths in the revelation of God and His dealings with men. *Life Changing Evangelism*, by Joseph Pearce, offers valuable and valid instruction in the work of evangelism. The secret of the author's fine ministry is herein revealed and will inspire all who read his addresses to the service of the Kingdom. *The Soul of Egypt*, by Allison D. Boutros, is a study of the charm and needs of the land of the Nile. Mr. Boutros is interested in the future of Egypt and advocates the theories relating to the fulfilment of prophecies.

From the same Press comes a book, published at 2s. 6d., on the centrality of the Cross, by F. J. Huegel. It is entitled *The Cross of Christ the Throne of God*. This great subject is treated with much skill and clear insight for the man in the pew. The clarity of its teaching will result in the conviction of the mind and, what is more, the changing of the heart.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

Church and State on the European Continent—Beckly Lecture, 1936. By Adolf Keller, D.D., LL.D. (Epworth Press. 6s.)

This is a book of outstanding importance to the student of contemporary events, and to all who are concerned for the future of the Evangelical Churches in Europe. Dr. Keller's knowledge of the religious situation on the Continent is unrivalled. His recent work as Secretary of the Central European Bureau of Inter-Church Aid has brought him into close contact with the religious communities in Europe. In this book he gives us a rare blending of personal experience, critical analysis, sound scholarship and religious conviction. In a Europe robbed of security, new States have emerged, with unfamiliar ideologies and doubtful philosophies.

Professor Keller criticizes the fundamental principles of Bolshevism, Fascism and National Socialism. He feels that in the case of Russia 'the whole policy of oppression springs from an unconscious myth and a negative religion.' Indeed he pursues the idea of the 'myth' lying behind all contemporary revolutions. In the case of Russia it is the classless society, in Germany the pure racial nation, and in Fascism the absolute State.

He denies the suggestion that the Bolshevik Revolution should be considered as 'an advance towards the Christian ideal,' though he is perfectly willing to admit that it has made 'real progress in civilization.' He reveals characteristics in the Russian application of Marxism which are not Marxian; Bolshevism is sharper, sterner, more daring. It is revolutionary; it demands the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it promotes class war. It has some of its roots in Russian Nihilism and some in the religious heritage of the Russian soul. Because of this it is unconsciously a secular religion. In a theory which counts man a biological phenomenon there must be a definite hostility to all spiritual religion.

With scrupulous fairness, and an unchallenged knowledge of the facts, Dr. Keller draws his conclusions. Bolshevism has scented out unerringly the sins of Christianity, and the tragedy is not only that it fights the Christian faith but that its struggle is against God Himself. It is an anti-religion.

Space prevents our following his closely-reasoned argument in detail. We learn from this book that 'Fascism is the gigantic attempt to cure one revolution by another'; that it 'presents us with the mystery of personality in history'; that in its philosophy 'there is no salvation outside the State.'

After a searching criticism of National Socialism, Dr. Keller deals with 'problematical revolutions.' In his treatment of Spain, a country of nearly irreconcilable opposites, he wrote: 'Recent events have

shown that the Spanish Revolution has not yet come to an end with the establishing of such an idealistic programme.' One remembers that the happenings of the past two months have vindicated Professor Keller not only as critic but as prophet. Of Austria he says: 'She is going through a conservative revolution whose final result is not at all assured.'

In subsequent sections of this great critical survey the author deals with the relationship between State and Church, and the principles which control it; he then describes the ecclesiastical policy of the Churches in the revolutionary States. Finally he paints a tragic yet splendid picture of the reaction of the Christian Churches in the States which are rightly termed revolutionary. There is a vivid account of the Church driven to self-defence in France, of the Church first brutally and then subtly martyred in Russia, and finally of the regeneration of the Evangelical Church in Germany.

Such a book defies synopsis. It is so condensed in itself. When Dr. Keller outlines the significance of the problem for the oecumenical world, as we reach his last page we are not weary; we are hungry for more; we are thrilled and ashamed; we are conscious of a great debt we owe to the man who has made the revelation.

In spite of risking an impertinence, we should like to offer our congratulations to Dr. Keller on having dealt with so intricate and technical a subject in such fluent language. We believe every reader will agree that this book is written in a style which is virile and convincing, never pedantic and always readable.

The future is heavy with tragic and glorious possibilities. It is apparent that the Christian Church may have to suffer many things but it is equally obvious that, if she will accept the challenge of the situation, she may achieve a new unity and an overcoming power. There can be no doubt that Dr. Keller has done much in this great book to furnish every English Christian with knowledge that should make him not fearful, but eager and enthusiastic.

The Apostolic Age and the New Testament, being the Bohlen Lectures for 1935. By George A. Barton, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. (University of Pennsylvania Press and the Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford. 7s.)

The intention of the author is to present for the especial benefit of non-technical scholars 'an outline of the formative ideas and influences of the Apostolic Age and their effect on the New Testament books produced in it.' The book is a well-written exposition of the three periods in which this Age is divided, namely A.D. 30-42, 42-70, and 70-150. As might be expected, conjecture enters into the discussion to a considerable extent, and in such a connexion latitude must be allowed for differences of view. For example, it is suggested that the people who heard the ecstatic ejaculations of the disciples at Pentecost put various constructions on what they heard; whereas it might be just as feasible to suggest that the disciples uttered in their ecstasy fragments of the praises which they had heard from the

foreign Jews who had arrived at Jerusalem. The solution may be along the line of unconscious memory: it is easily agreed that the idea of a gift of other languages was long ago abandoned. It is also noticeable that Dr. Barton, in submitting a reconstruction of the course of Paul's pre-Christian thinking, says nothing as to the possibility of earlier meetings on his part with Jesus. A pursuit of such a suggestion might provide for a greater need for 'thinking things through' during the sojourn in Arabia. Then one may wonder if such a wholehearted acceptance of Eusebius' evidence is quite warranted in regard to the deaths of both Peter and Paul taking place in the same year, A.D. 64. It might not be difficult to account for the addition of Peter's name to the list of Nero's victims even if he was put to death just after Nero's time. But the very fact that this book compels serious consideration of all such problems is a testimony to its worth. It not only imparts information in a useful form but it does so in a fresh manner in which the interest is always sustained. Dr. Barton's appreciation of the work of Dr. Vincent Taylor as a form-critic will be valued by Methodist readers. There are a useful 'Chronology' and 'Selected Bibliography' at the close of the book, together with the Index. We confidently commend this work to all students of this truly fascinating period.

H. WATKIN-JONES.

John Wesley and Education. By A. E. Body, B.A., M.Ed.
(Epworth Press. 6s.)

'My view of writing history (as in philosophy) is to bring God into it,' wrote John Wesley, and he might well have included the word Education. In this interesting study, Mr. Body has shown Wesley's deep and life-long passion for education, and has given an account of his founding of day schools and of the boarding school, Kingswood, for the sons of his preachers and other Methodists. Like most of the thinking men of his age Wesley was profoundly dissatisfied with the Public Schools, possibly remembering the hardships he endured at Charterhouse in his youth, though his great objection was to the godless teaching of 'heathen schoolmasters.' Cowper well expresses the common view:

Would you your son should be a sot or dunce
Lascivious, headstrong; or all these at once;
. . . Train him in public with a mob of boys
Childish in mischief only and in noise.

The sources of Wesley's educational theory are examined, and his great debt to Locke is stressed. Often Locke's views are nearly paraphrased in Wesley's writings. But he was also influenced by Plato, Milton, William Law, and the Moravian system at Herrnhut whose time-table he closely followed at Kingswood. He was, however, intensely practical, and gathered ideas in all directions. Hardly enough stress seems to have been laid on the influence of his mother, Susanna Wesley. It was she who brought up the large family at

Epworth, and afterwards described her methods which were based on complete regularity and exact performance of duties. Though children were shown endless patience and were taught to argue out every problem, they were also taught 'to fear the rod and cry quietly.' Her system was a success, and she wrote: 'It is almost incredible what a child may be taught in a quarter of a year if it have but tolerable capacity and good health.' Wesley's later systems may seem to have been but an expansion of her views combined with his own passion for planning out every moment of the day and beginning early.

Nothing is said of Wesley's work as a tutor at Oxford for many years, yet the glimpses we get of him there show him to have been carrying out his theories. When that bright young man, Richard Morgan, arrived from Ireland 'with a greyhound' he found Wesley a very exacting tutor. He complained bitterly to his father of the long hours and the quantity of work expected, and said: 'I am grown perfectly melancholy, and have got such a habit of sighing which I cannot avoid, that it must certainly do me great mischief.'

Wesley is shown teaching in Georgia and founding a school for colliers' children near Bristol on his return from America. Next a day school was started at the Foundery in London. This was for poor children many of whom were clothed free. This school showed both the strength and weakness of his views. There were no play days, no child was to speak but to the master, the hours were from six to twelve and one to five, and any child absent two days in a week without permission was excluded. 'A happy change was soon observed in the children,' says Wesley. Here, however, he was a pioneer in trying to co-operate with the parents; for a meeting between parents and masters took place each Wednesday morning. When parents could not frequently be seen, he went to the opposite extreme, and at Kingswood there were no holidays at all. Parents agreed not to take any child away 'no, not one day, till they take him away for good and all.'

At Kingswood his system had many good points. In contrast to his own treatment at Charterhouse the boys had adequate and varied diet, and there seems to have been opportunity for some manual work. Individual attention was easy, for he allowed one master for every five boys. Hebrew and Music were added to the usual Public School curriculum. However, his relentless logic carried him beyond common sense. The children rose at four both summer and winter; no play was allowed; for did not the German proverb state: 'He that plays when he is a boy will play when he is a man'? The children were never alone. An account of his troubles in trying to maintain this nearly impossible system is given. Like Dr. Arnold, Wesley believed in expelling 'boys very uncommonly wicked,' a large number of whom managed to go to Kingswood. He was bothered about the staffing, and the boys laughed at his French masters. After one irritated visit he wrote: 'They ought never to play, but they do, every day; yea, in school . . . and others run up and down in the

wood and mix, yea fight, with colliers' children.' So perhaps life was not too unpleasant there after all. Under the foolish master, Hindmarsh, occurred the terrible 'revival' in the school in 1770, but such scenes are shown not to have been part of Wesley's plan. It was not till the closing years of his life that he was free from worry and could cease to exclaim: 'Satan has a peculiar spite against this school.' But he lived to see it in the prosperity which has continued to the present day.

A brief statement is given of later Methodist educational schemes with the spread of elementary and secondary schools as well as training Colleges, and there is a useful account of Wesley's many publications for his schools and followers. These included books on History, Logic, Electricity, Greek, Latin, French, Hebrew and English Grammars, as well as a Dictionary and editions of the classics. Possibly more ought to have been made of this side of his work, with its enormous publications for Adult education. All Methodist centres sold books and all preachers carried them. The rigorous reading courses given to the preachers with their orders to preach on education and to encourage Sunday Schools might have been more stressed. The practical side of his views is shown often in the letters which seem to have been undervalued. To a man about to engage a new master he wrote: 'You will have no blessing from God and no praise from wise men if you take that vile sordid measure of so reducing the salary. You must give £40 a year at the least. . . . I abhor the thought of our masters keeping an evening school. It would swallow up the time he ought to have for his own improvement. Give him enough to live comfortably upon without this drudgery.' Later he insisted on the Headmaster of Kingswood taking a month's holiday in the summer, and advised the employment of a dancing master to teach deportment. He was curiously modern, too, in his insistence on proper exercise in the open air every day, and the stressing of cleanliness as a means of health.

The book, however, is packed with interest for all people concerned with practical education or interested in the eighteenth century. It shows an attempt to create a system which should live up to the motto inscribed on Kingswood School: IN GLORIAM DEI OPTIMI MAXIMI IN USUM ECCLESIAE ET REIPUBLICAE.

THOMAS B. SHEPHERD.

Ethiopia the Valiant. By W. J. W. Roome. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 1s.)

This sympathetic little volume is dedicated to 'The Emperor and People of Ethiopia who have fought so nobly for the right.' There is an astonishing amount of information in its hundred odd pages. It is quite plain that the book is meant as an appeal on behalf of the Emperor and people of Abyssinia, and the unforgettably vivid cartoons reproduced from *Punch* give zest to this meaning. The epilogue is an account of the Ethiopia Prayer League formed in 1935. The

author writes out of an almost unique experience of Africa, having crossed the Continent thirteen times. One of the most vivid chapters is on Rome: the Papal Tyrant. Mr. Roome can be congratulated on his eloquent tribute and warm plea on behalf of a brave people.

The American Ideal. By Arthur Bryant. (Longmans. 10s. net.)

Books on America continue to come in great numbers, but there is more than usual justification for the publication in book form of the Watson Foundation Lecture, given by Mr. Arthur Bryant in the fall of 1935 at the request of the Sulgrave Manor Ward, especially for those Englishmen who, the author assures us, are, to their loss, not taught the history of the United States. The biographical approach which makes this book so readable has its limitations, but more than vindicates itself in the stories of eight men whose lives contain the pain and glory of America's past. The ideal born in England and carried to the West found its primitive expression in the simple ballad:

To the West, to the land of the free,
Where the mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea;
Where a man is a man if he's willing to toil,
And the poorest may gather the fruits of the soil.

And Emerson sees mankind's spiritual significance as a liberty to face with hope the illimitable future. This dream may elude exact definitions and logical defence, but here in eight men's lives is the thing itself rising to gallant expression and undefeated by the travesties and twistings of human nature under the pressure of vast material temptations.

Duncan Main of Hangchow. By Alexander Gammie. (Pickering & Inglis. 3s. 6d.)

In *Duncan Main of Hangchow* the biographer had an ideal subject. A life story which is full of incident and marked by tenacity and singleness of purpose makes good reading at any time. These features are clearly presented by Mr. Alexander Gammie who, as the official biographer, has produced a readable book. The aim of the writer has evidently been a popular volume rather than a critical estimate of his subject.

Civilization Remade by Christ. By F. A. M. Spencer, B.D. (Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d.)

This is a cheap reprint of a comprehensive study of 'Social Applications of the Moral Teaching of our Lord' on such subjects as war, government and politics, the family, marriage, the eugenic problem and other subjects. The value of such a survey is manifest.

Features of the Church Fathers. By Reader. (Heath Cranton. 2s.)

The second edition of this useful work proves that for the average reader the many and imposing names of the Church Fathers are matters of living interest.

GENERAL

Wanderings Among Words. By Henry Bett. (George Allen & Unwin. 6s.)

The history of the tools with which mankind has done its work is always fascinating. Dr. Bett's latest book on *Wanderings Among Words* will arouse much interest in the tools of the maker of books. Archbishop Trench's earlier study in this subject created an interest which this book will foster and deepen. Words are the machinery of literature, and the vehicles of thought. They record romance, progress and fashions in commerce, art, religion and history. This volume is written with much charm and holds the reader spellbound. Dr. Bett writes of the early efforts of man to express his mind and will in words, and then demonstrates the debt we owe to the mythology of Greece and Rome in our ordinary speech. Religion and the Church in the Middle Ages had a vocabulary which has entered into the talk of the man in the street to-day. Few would suspect the connexion between a 'godparent' and a 'gossip,' or that between a 'catafalque' and a 'scaffold.' The author clearly shows that the vagaries of fashion are as much features of literature as of life. Commerce provides a most interesting chapter. Our 'grocer' is really a 'wholesaler' it seems, while 'Mr. Spicer' is the retailer, and the chemist is related to the old alchemist. 'Soldiers' are paid fighters, and the 'steward' was the keeper of the sty, then the guardian of the cattle, and finally the caterer for the household. In metaphors we have a museum of words which will repay study, while the endless oddities in language provide much interest. The Index provided will help both the student and the general reader, to both of whom this book is heartily recommended. Both author and publisher are to be congratulated on a well-written, well made book.

J. HENRY MARTIN.

The Hour Glass. By Maeterlinck. (George Allen & Unwin. 6s. net.)

There is a beauty in the work of Maeterlinck which has power to tease us out of thought. It captured many readers at the turn of the century, in *Pelleas and Melisande*, a play coloured by sombre imagination, in which love and death are dark mysteries governing the lives of men and women. Then came a happier philosophy in *Blue Bird* and *The Betrothal*, touching the meanings of birth and death with delicate humour and scientific fantasy, in fairyland plays at once realist and mystical. Now at the age of seventy-four, Maeterlinck has given us, in *The Hour Glass*, his thoughts on the ultimate problems of life, claiming only that it has been his rule to 'follow every question, every reply, honestly, to the end, without heeding the possible dangers of such a course.' Here may be found the two Maeterlincks of the

earlier and later plays: now the complete agnostic, left by the tragic injustice of life bewildered and overwhelmed; and a moment later the poet and mystic, who sees the mystery of life and love, sorrow and death, with the eyes of wonder and a heart of faith. The theme to which he most frequently recurs is that of death, but always with his own theory of the germ or cell by which the dead are living in us, and will live on in our remotest descendants; and with the belief that 'our best and surest friends are the dead.' In a final chapter on 'The Death of Queen Astrid,' he dismisses the ideas of Divine justice or of chance as explanations. 'We can judge man only as men. Let us leave to God the right to judge him as God.' For Maeterlinck, God is greater than His revelations of Himself: He is an evolving God, whose name may be Nature, Space and Time, or the Universe. Maeterlinck mentions Pascal, and immediately the *Pensées* challenge comparison with this book. The tones of Pascal's voice are heard when Maeterlinck speaks of the *curés*: 'They bring back to my mind the heaven of my first years and the lovely images of childhood . . . I should do as they do, and without deceiving anyone I should behave as though I believed' (p. 200). Although Maeterlinck is a Belgian, he belongs to the tradition of Pascal and Amiel. He gives us scattered thoughts, without unity or coherence, and makes no attempt to present a philosophical system. There may be, as he says, a secret order, but it suggests, not the spiritual verification of Christian truth, as in Pascal, but the natural beauty of light in a starry sky.

S. G. DIMOND.

Flowers of Speech. By Sir John Squire. (George Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.)

This volume consists of two series of six lectures delivered over the 'Wireless' by Sir John Squire. In part one he deals with the subject—'The Enjoyment of Words'; in part two with 'The Enjoyment of Literary Forms.' Sir John has given to us an interesting book. He certainly has the gift of lucidity. He is in love with his theme. To him words are alive, and come laden with atmosphere. He tells of beautiful words and ugly words. He points out that an ugly word like—KEATS—becomes beautiful through its associations with the poet, and whispers to us messages of romance, and tells of that Beauty which is a joy for ever. Sir John writing of the word—KEATS—says: 'Strip it of its associations, and it is a very unpleasant word—a splutter and a hiss.' He shows that Keats chose his words so as to give to his verse not only melodious sound, but also atmosphere. He illustrates this from the famous lines:

Magic casements opening on the foam
Of perilous seas in faery lands forlorn.

Here—as he points out—the words come laden with associations which tell of mystery, the illimitable, the homes of fairies, and of a world full of an eerie beauty. He points out that it is a most interesting exercise to take famous lines, and to ask the question—'Why does

this passage appeal to me so much?' We thus realize with what dexterity the poets choose their words, and how perfect is the order in which they place them. There is much in a name and a word to a poet. Sir John wisely says: 'Shakespeare never said that a rose by any other name would sound as agreeable.' The book is full of illuminating remarks and will give to all its readers a deeper interest in words and literature.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH.

The Psychology of Punishment. By A. B. Allen and E. H. Williams. (Allman & Son. 6s. 6d.)

This book ought to be an authoritative study since it is written by two educationists and covers a wide range of subjects. It is disappointing in its treatment, for it is too dogmatic and does not take account of all the facts. The impression is given that the authors have an objective, coloured by their own prejudices, to which they move, oblivious of all else. For instance, in seeking to show the alternative uses of discipline, as implement or instrument, the writers say: 'Those who were born during the war years or since 1918 tend to believe in nothing. They have learnt to disregard the "sacred" things that belong to the pre-1914 era of their elders.' The authors do not seem to have taken into account such things as the Group Movement, the Scouts and similar organizations, to say nothing of the Peace Fellowships. There is no study of the supreme remedial work of religion or the restraints and sublimations possible by its aid. To write of psychology and punishment as they affect the child without considering religion as a factor is to court failure. In the book there is much useful information and some that is open to question. The authors seem to realize this in their acknowledgements.

Drama Through the Centuries. By Arthur B. Allen. (Allman & Son. 6s.)

The author of this book is the founder of The Progressive Players (Selby Park Boys' School, Birmingham) and the first General Director of the Watling Guild of Players, Burnt Oak. He has given to us a practical yet altogether charming little book. It has evolved from his own experience of play-production as 'part of the Literature Scheme within the curriculum of the school.' The policy of continuity in production is strongly advocated, and the importance of the study of drama defined. Drama is spoken English; it deals with life; it introduces the child to human passions in a controlled form; it insists on the child learning his part with some sense of a definite use in the process; it provides necessary activities in production; it has a psychological value in team-work, and finally it gives the child opportunity for individual expression.

In the first part of the book there is a definite scheme which outlines the development of the English drama from the Symbolic Dance, the Mime and the Mystery Plays to the works of Shaw, Milne, Barrie, Galsworthy and Synge. It is an ambitious programme but it is devised on right lines, and Mr. Allen has treated it in a practical and most helpful

way. Teachers and Welfare Workers will find in it a treasure-house of practical hints and fundamental principles of production. A special chapter is given to the one-act play.

In the second part the problems of the cast, of costume, the stage, properties, rehearsals, advertising and royalties are considered.

There is an amazing amount of information in so slender a book, but there is nothing slovenly or slipshod about either the writing, the illustrations or the production. It will be invaluable to those interested in raising the standard of dramatic production in schools, and in youth organizations. No one who has read it will rest content with haphazard 'entertainments.' Through the policy outlined in this book a real appreciation of literature may be cultivated, and, better still, the development of personality may be encouraged and directed.

Rural Roundabout. By Hockley Clarke. (Allman & Son. 3s. 6d.)

This tribute to the countryside is manifestly the work of a lover of this England. It is excellently arranged and printed, the illustrations are delightful wood engravings which greatly enhance the real message of this little book. In the many small chapters the atmosphere of the farmhouse, the trees and flowers, the birds and the quiet, and the manifold life of Nature is successfully reproduced. All phases of the country are covered in a world still far from the motor car and aeroplane, in the lands of the fox, the hedge cutter and hurdle maker, the rick builder and the shepherd. The taste of all sweet things abides in these pages; they are replete with the descriptions of many of Nature's wonderful creatures, and intimate descriptions of their manner of life. The delights of spring, the summer scents, the autumn tints are all here, together with many a plea for the retention of countryside glories. A book for a quiet hour and a mind at leisure.

A Satchel Guide to Europe. By William Day Crockett and Sarah Crockett. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 20s. net.)

This famous hand-book remains unrivalled as a comprehensive guide to Europe. Within the compass of six hundred pages an amazing mass of material is gathered, and excellently indexed. In addition to this, valuable hints for tourists, including articles on subjects as varied as language, laundry, cycling and air travel, are contained in a hundred introductory pages. This classic guide-book was enlarged in 1924 from the edition of Dr. Rolfe, and the present issue is the fifty-third edition. There is a section on 'Changes Recent and Prospective,' which should prove invaluable to the tourist.

Beggars' Horses. By P. C. Wren. (John Murray. 2s. net.)

This addition to the cheap issue of P. C. Wren's novels will be welcomed by many readers. The story is one of the best this author has given us. The plot never flags; the construction is faultless and, needless to say, the excitement of the swift-following situations leaves one breathless but happy.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Journal of Theological Studies.—The number for July, 1936, derives great value from the fact that it contains an essay, 'Passover and Unleavened Bread: the Laws of J. E. and D.,' which was recently discovered among the papers of the late Dr. G. Buchanan Gray. It seems to have been originally intended as a chapter in that great scholar's book on *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*. The main article is one by the Rev. C. W. Lowry, 'Origen as Trinitarian.' Amongst 'Notes and Studies' is an interesting contribution by Dr. Robert Gordis, 'The Branch to the Nose': a note on Ezekiel viii. 17. Following a wide-spread Rabbinic tradition that the text originally read 'My nose,' and that it was changed from mistaken reverence to 'their nose,' Dr. Gordis concludes that we have here a well-known metaphor for irritation. The passage then reads: 'Is it a light thing for the house of Judah to commit the abominations which they commit here, that they fill the land with violence and continue to provoke Me, and irritate Me utterly? Therefore, I, too, will act in fury, Mine eye shall not spare, nor will I have pity, and though they cry in Mine ears with a loud voice, I will not hear them.' As usual, there are many reviews, amongst which we may specially mention those by Dr. A. E. Brooke of Dr. Meecham's *The Letter of Aristas*, by the Bishop of Truro of Prof. C. H. Dodd's *The Parables of the Kingdom*, by Prof. Lightfoot of A. T. Cadoux's *The Sources of the Second Gospel*, by Canon Creed of *The New Tischendorf* vol. i., by Dr. G. G. Coulton of a French book by Terence P. McLaughlin (*Le très ancien droit monastique de l' Occident*), and by Prof. E. W. Watson of Bp. Bell's *Life of Archbishop Davidson*. It is an unusually rich and varied assortment of reviews.

The Expository Times (September) continues its most useful service as an organ of evangelical, sane and intelligible scholarship. It deals with subjects of living interest. Many a working minister will be glad of the discussion on the uses of symbolism in worship which is raised in the Notes of the Month. Dr. W. F. Howard deals fully with the question of the anti-Marcionite Prologue to the Gospels which was recently brought to public notice in *The Times* by Dr. Eisler. Careful reading of this article shows how much or little is in the contention that Marcion was the original scribe of the Fourth Gospel. One could wish that a further article may follow up Dr. Howard's hint of the connexion between the Prologue and Tertullian. On entirely different lines is an exposition of the Sixth Commandment. Canon Morris, as he turns the light of Christ's positive teaching on to the O.T. prohibition of murder, develops the pacifist position as the Christian ideal and the Christian's inescapable duty. Many

readers will feel that he comes short of the practical issue, but all must be grateful for the way in which he makes the point that the Decalogue is not merely a series of negatives. Not the least valuable part of this publication is in its Reviews of current literature, and, for those who need guidance as to ordered reading, it is announced that next year's programme (beginning in October) will include a series on 'The Best Books on —,' which will cover about a dozen subjects. *The Expository Times* is invaluable to the man who wishes to keep his head above water or his soul from turning to dust.

The Congregational Quarterly (July).—In 'Fifty Years at Oxford' Dr. W. B. Selbie says that the story of Mansfield is one more illustration of the important part played by scholarship in the practical work of Christian reunion. In 'The Triple Ray' Dr. Oswald W. S. McCall urges the Church to study and illustrate with increasing earnestness the three major aspects of Christ: Prophet, Priest and King. 'A Theological Professor's Training in the Nineteenth Century' is part of the late Dr. Archibald Duff's Autobiography in which he recalls his education in Canada, United States, and Germany. John A. Simpson contributes a valuable article on 'The Distinctive Work of the Church.' Muriel Kent writes on 'The Spiritual Adventure of Stephen Grellett,' Prof. John Hilton on 'This and That,' Geoffrey F. Nuttall on 'Towards an Appreciation of Erasmus' and H. Nicholson on 'A Day in a Schoolmaster's Life.' 'Developments and Experiments' include short articles by Dr. Alfred E. Garvie and Willard Price. Ministers will appreciate Dr. E. A. Dingley's article on 'The Minister in the Sick Room.'

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (July-August).—The issue of the Bulletin for July-August contains some items of unusual interest. There is an illuminating article on 'Two Biblical Papyri' by C. H. Roberts, M.A. The first of these is a Ptolemaic Papyrus of Deuteronomy, and the second a fragment of a Testimony Book; both were found as pieces of cartonnage in a bundle of miscellaneous papyri bought by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1917.

There are timely articles on Erasmus and Tindale by the Editor, Dr. Guppy, and an interesting survey of Goethe's Attitude to Science, by Dr. Fairley.

An announcement of two important bequests appears in 'Notes and News.' The first concerns the gift of 3,500 printed books, including 2,000 Bibles. Amongst them are copies of the Antwerp, the London and the Paris polyglots, a fine collection of early Vulgates and a great number of editions of the Greek Septuagint Version. The second gift consists of a single volume—Dr. Alexander McLaren's Bible. It is a copy of the Authorised Version (Oxford University Press, 1838) but it is interleaved and contains Dr. McLaren's carefully-written notes, expositions and translations. It is fitting that it should rest on the shelves of the Rylands Library of which he was a Governor.

The Cornhill (July) lives up to its reputation in a seasonal number with good holiday reading. A. K. Wickham relates an unconventional journey on the Continent. There are two particularly fine articles about animals—a gallant defence of the hedgehog and a striking story of an otter. General Fairfax, of Civil War fame, receives sympathetic treatment from the skilful pen of Oliver Warner. There is new material on Fanny Burney and the D'Arblays; an account of the bad career of Hartley, son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, with good stories and poems.

(August) contains a sympathetic study of Joseph Conrad by Richard Colenutt. Also another literary article by Geoffrey Bret Harte on the centenary of his grandfather, Bret Harte. Sir Charles Petrie writes vividly on Athens and its Life To-day. There are delightful articles dealing with far-away scenes by Daniele Vare, Vera Dart and James Kerr. Nature lovers have a fascinating picture by Lt.-Col. A. H. E. Mosse on 'Birds of an Indian Garden.' Fiction is represented by Sandford Witton, Gerald Fitzgerald, and other writers of note. Poetry by Sir Charles Sherrington and Vice-Admiral S. H. Radcliffe.

FOREIGN

The Moslem World (July).—The latest characterization of Mahommed is by Prof. Tor Andrea of the University of Upsala. A sketch of this work, contributed by Dr. Samuel Zwemer, contains long quotations to illustrate the author's rather startling theory that the great Prophet was influenced by the Nestorians of Persia. A Jesuit priest writes on Roman Catholic Missions to Islam, claiming that what is called 'the indirect apostolate,' i.e. teaching, healing, giving and praying, is improving the social life of Mahommedans everywhere. Eastern Christianity and Mahommedanism arrived in China together and for seven centuries lived side by side. Then Christianity was wiped out whilst the rival faith survived. This is attributed by Mr. Pickens (Secretary of the Society of the Friends of Moslems in China), to certain outstanding Moslem leaders of whom he writes. Those interested in vampire legends will find that similar superstitions are held amongst the Moros who according to a convert from Islam attribute such horrors to Jinn. The theory that the Mahommedan Mosque and the Christian Cathedral were centres around which ancient towns sprang up in East and West respectively, is set forth in a fascinating article on 'The Religious Edifice and Community Life,' by Mr. Wilber, a student of Moslem art at Princeton University. An American Methodist Minister, Mr. Schanzlin, gives some valuable information concerning the Turk in History and Geography, and an article on 'Koranic Wisdom according to a Turk,' is a useful bit of criticism.

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THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

EDITOR: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

OCTOBER, 1936

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